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The Nation.

October 5, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

OCT 9

ORIAL

LD WAR FEMINISM

The other day, Maureen Reagan, who led the U.S. delegation to the United Nations women's conference in Nairobi, gave a speech to a group of feminists gathered to assess the conference. The meeting was called From Nairobi to New York City: Bringing the Message Home, but the message Reagan carried back was that the Nairobi conclave was a triumph of Us over Them. She gleefully described clever American maneuvers but failed to discuss why U.S. positions did not win the support of even our traditional allies. She referred to a Soviet delegate as Boris Badenov, the villain on the Rocky and Bullwinkle TV cartoon.

When members of the audience, many of whom had attended the nongovernmental Forum '85, asked Reagan what the Administration was going to do to implement the conference's powerful report, she explained that the President will send copies to local officials, who are in the best position to take action.

After Reagan and her Secret Service escort departed, her stunned and angry listeners reported on a different conference in Nairobi, at which women had learned from one another rather than played out cold war games. Reagan had claimed that the U.S. tactics saved feminism from being engulfed by extraneous political issues. But whose feminism and whose issues? The women from Forum '85 represented an international feminism that is part of a struggle for peace and justice.

Not all of our government's appointees to the United Nations and its agencies are President Reagan's children, but for most of them, as for Maureen, international gatherings are battlefields in the crusade against the Evil Empire. With all eyes focused on the U.N. General Assembly this week, we hope there will be more to see than a Saturday-morning kids' cartoon.

HESTON FOR PRESIDENT?
Neil Postman

THE CARLOS FILE
Martha Honey
Tony Avirgan

TAIWAN'S PRESS CRACKDOWN
JoAnn Lum

DEATH IN THE FIELDS
Richard Wiles

'COMMON GROUND'
Mark Zanger

EPITAPH FOR MARVIN GAYE
George De Stefano

CORRUPTING A COUNTRY

HOW THE U.S. IS CHANGING COSTA RICA

Costa Rica is rapidly emerging as an important counter in the Administration's Central America game plan. Recently Richard J. Walton returned from a six-week visit to the country. Following his report, Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan offer an admittedly bizarre tale that typifies the shadowy world of intrigue that San José has become. —*The Editors*

RICHARD J. WALTON

San José

Just offshore, a former U.S. Navy PT boat made long, lazy circles. High on a bluff overlooking a lovely bay, Green Berets, rigidly at attention, saluted as first the national anthem of the host country and then "The Star-Spangled Banner" reverberated across the parade ground. It was July 25, and Companies A and B of the Relampago (Lightning) Battalion of the Civil Guard had just completed their three-month course; later, in high spirits, they would throw their laughing Green Beret instructors under a hose.

It was a familiar scene in Latin America, and yet different. For this was not one of a score of Latin nations in which a strutting, U.S.-armed military has been known to seize power from the civilian government. This was Costa Rica, that tiny nation of 2.5 million people which has demonstrated for nearly forty years that a country can live in peace without an army—indeed, that the lack of an army can make that country more secure and more prosperous by far than its militarized neighbors.

However, there are those in and outside Costa Rica who are convinced that President Reagan

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LETTERS.

SORRY, CHARLIE

Washington

The Nation owes Gen. Charles de Gaulle an apology. In its distress over President François Mitterrand's behavior in the Greenpeace affair it somehow manages to hold de Gaulle responsible for the actions of his "*soi-disant* socialist" successor [editorial, "Blowing Peace Out of the Water," Aug. 31].

First, the editorial blames de Gaulle for creating the *force de frappe*. The fact is that the first discussions about building nuclear weapons were held in 1954, when good guy Pierre Mendes-France was premier. By 1956 the military atomic program was well under way. The order for France's first atomic test was given in 1958, by de Gaulle's predecessor. It was carried out in 1960. The *force de frappe* inevitably followed, and has been energetically pursued by every government, Gaullist or anti-Gaullist, since.

To say de Gaulle's government "bashed workers and students in the May 1968 uprising" is to miss the point. It did bash a few, but compared with what took place in Chicago and Budapest that same summer, May 1968 in Paris was a kermis. What was central about the "uprising" was that it failed because the Communists, who controlled the major trade unions, refused to join the general strike. They feared anarchy more than they wanted "socialism." When the shouting was over, de Gaulle initiated sweeping liberal reforms in the educational system and significantly improved workers' benefits and working conditions.

It was de Gaulle, let us remember, who saved France from a right-wing military coup in 1958 that threatened to bring a fascist regime to power. It was he who restored France to financial solvency, who provided the first stable government the country had known in decades and who returned to its people the dignity and national pride that had been tattered by futile colonial wars and irresponsible politicians. It was de Gaulle who ended the Algerian war, a war which had been conducted with such eager determination (if it is not impolite to say so in these pages) by his Socialist predecessor, Guy Mollet. It was de Gaulle who gave independence to France's colonial territories in black Africa. And it was he who had the effrontery to urge the Americans, as early as 1964, to seek a negotiated neutral status for Indochina rather than fight a self-destructive postcolonial war.

Gaullism is pursued by de Gaulle's successors, of whatever party, because it stands for national dignity, solvency, self-reliance and an accommodation to forces of change. It has a powerful appeal throughout Europe, and we would be fortunate indeed to have a President of our own who understood and followed its premises. *Ronald Steel*

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

Cambridge, Mass.

In her review of Michael Schulman and Eva Mekler's *Bringing Up a Moral Child* ["Right From Wrong," Aug. 17/24], Carol Tavris makes the following claim about the developmental theories of Jean Piaget and of Lawrence Kohlberg, professor of education and social psychology at Harvard University and director of the Harvard Center for Moral Development and Education:

> For Piaget and Kohlberg, moral understanding develops in a series of fixed and invariant stages. Parents should not interfere in the child's "natural" ascent up the hierarchy; it won't do any good anyway.

While a full account of cognitive developmental theory could not be expected in a short review, it is not too much to expect that the summary presented be accurate. Kohlberg's theory of moral development does include claims that moral reasoning develops in "stages" that are invariant and universal. However, Kohlberg does not claim that parents do not influence the moral development of their children.

Robert Howard

TAVRIS REPLIES

New York City

I agree that I was too abrupt in dismissing the role of parents in cognitive theories; of course parents "influence" the moral development of their children, and I know Kohlberg recognizes that. It's just that, according to Kohlberg, parents can't influence their children's moral *reasoning* until the latter's mental abilities mature in those supposedly "invariant and universal" stages. The main problem is that Kohlberg's moral reasoning test, as Schulman and Mekler observe, has a very poor record of predicting moral behavior in real situations. It predicts verbal sophistication. On Kohlberg's test, they note, "the cruelest lawyer is, without question, going to get a higher score than the kindest eight-year-old." Children need to learn to reason morally and think critically, and parents can help them do that. But if parents attend only to their children's reasoning abilities, without also rewarding empathy and moral action, they will merely produce tiny Henry Kissingers.

Carol Tavris

CHOCOLATE WARS

McLean, Va.

Jay Peterzell's story concerning Mars Inc. and the C.I.A. is simply not true ["No Bars for Mars at the C.I.A.?" Sept. 14].

The part of the story that is true is that M&M/Mars did indeed file an ordinary Freedom of Information Act request as part of its routine statistical research and data analysis process. The request, which was for publicly available information, was acknowledged some three years later, and no meaningful information was provided. There were no other contacts, and it is strikingly obvious from the thirty-five-month delay in responding to the request that we did not receive anything other than normal treatment.

For your information, Forrest Mars Sr. has not been involved with this business in any manner for the past fifteen years. Seven years ago he established his own independent business in Nevada, where he has lived since.

H.L. Walker
Vice President, Mars Inc.

PETERZELL REPLIES

Washington

The case that M&M/Mars received special treatment from the C.I.A. is supported both by the comments of a knowledgeable official and by the documents on the Soviet chocolate industry the agency released to Mars. If Walker thinks part of the story is false, he should have said so when I called him. Instead, he refused all comment.

As for Mars Senior, I noted in the story that he had retired from the company. I do wish to make one clarification, however: as a result of a mix-up on the proofs, the story incorrectly specified that it was Mars Senior who was said to be friendly with William Casey. *Jay Peterzell*

A VALUABLE REVIEW

Berkeley, Calif.

Thanks for publishing Holly Sklar's invaluable review of books on Nicaragua ["Reading Nicaragua," Sept. 7]. As Sklar points out, the debate about that country has been reduced to: "The Sandinistas are devils" versus "Yes they are devilish, but . . ." Any other position is taken at the risk of being called a "comsymp" or, worse, naïve. This sorry state of affairs is a result of the Reagan White House's extremely effective propaganda, which has co-opted all other points of view.

Many of us are not "Sandalistas" (sandal-clad groupies of the regime), yet we believe that Nicaragua's solution to the Central American dilemma is by far the most humane and the most democratic. Perhaps if people learn more about Nicaragua from firsthand accounts and other reports they will ignore the disinformation coming from the White House. Only then can we have a sane debate about U.S. policy in Central America. *The Nation* is to be commended for providing thoughtful information about Nicaragua in its pages.

Claude M. Steiner

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Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Carl Gottesman; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price:* One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Thought for Food

Arguments about politics and debates about morality can quickly evolve into discussions about standards. Is there a single standard about which the rights of minorities and the privileges of majorities can be judged? Or the validity of revolutions, counterrevolutions, invasions and incursions? Early on, the Reagan Administration and its friends hit upon the theory of the double standard as a way to attack their enemies to the left. Liberals were the ones who ignored the evils of, say, Nicaragua while condemning the behavior of Chile. Hearts that bled for the black victims of white racism were strangely still and cold in the opposite case. Libbers who shouted for the rights of women were silent about the rights of embryos. It got so that any positive statement about peace, justice and equality became the target of a philosophical barrage, like a freshman's paper in political science class.

Now the Administration is hoist with its own categorical petard. It appears ready to sue local public schools to raise the standards of education at the same time that it may move to lower the schools' standards of nutrition. In other words, it wants American kids to be smarter and hungrier at the same time, a double standard for public welfare if there ever was one.

The Justice Department, under its single-standard bearer Edwin Meese 3d, wants to remove all vestiges of remedial and affirmative action from public life and policy. In its zeal to ferret out those few programs for racial integration that

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survive from the liberal era, it found that some schools have different academic standards for minority and majority pupils: for example, blacks who do poorly in the three R's may be given enough credit for arts and physical education courses to allow them to graduate. William Bradford Reynolds, the Associate Attorney General for Civil Rights, says that such special attention for minorities is "highly offensive to the Constitution" and, besides, it denies them "the tools they need to compete" in the land of opportunity beyond high school.

Many teachers and parents disagree, and it is not because they have less regard for the Constitution or less faith in the opportunity society than the indomitable Reynolds. There's no easy way to test equality in education in a school system that is open to all children of a grossly unequal society. No single standard can be applied to a deprived child and to the advantaged one sitting next to him in the schoolroom. What's more, the Administration's assault on programs designed to redress old imbalances, its widespread fiscal cutbacks, its lawsuits against integration and its blindness to pervasive institutional racism should disqualify it from making arguments that invoke social justice. Reynolds was condemned as an architect of the Administration's racist offensive against education and employment when the President sought to promote him in the Justice Department in the spring. The solutions for inequality he now advocates are, in fact, part of the problem he helped create.

Attorney General Meese multiplies the difficulties for minority groups when he proposes the abolition of goals and timetables for expanding job opportunities in federally contracted work. Since the 1960s, when the civil rights movement forced the government to set affirmative action rules for companies with which it does business, some progress had been made in creating places for women and minority groups traditionally denied employment. Now Meese contends that "counting by race is a form of racism," which is his way of saying that the national consensus for integration and the policy of equal opportunity should be abandoned. Perhaps Reynolds should explain how the minority students whose career concerns he champions are to compete in a job market that Meese would close to them because of race or sex, regardless of the courses they take in school.

If you think you hear some kids complaining already, that just may be the sound of their stomachs growling. A committee of the National Academy of Sciences is recommending that standards be lowered for daily vitamin quotas, which means the Administration can cut its support for school lunches and food stamp programs still further. The committee says that lower amounts of vitamins are needed to prevent specific diseases, like scurvy and pellagra, than was previously thought. Nutritionists, however, argue that the value of vitamins and minerals to overall health is harder to estimate than the committee allows and that the net effect of lowering the vitamin standard will be to reduce government help for alleviating malnutrition. That shouldn't bother this Administration. If children are forced to compete for jobs that don't exist by taking courses for which they are unprepared, they might as well wait for meals that will never reach the table.

Singing for Aid

That wasn't only a rain cloud that hung over the Farm Aid concert in Champaign, Illinois; it was an irony of astral proportions. No one pointed out the crucial connection between the two big pop/political events of the year, rock concerts to feed starving people on one continent and help failing farmers on another. In fact, the Farm Aid announcers consistently got it wrong. Between B.B. King's and Roy Orbison's performance one unctuous radio host exhorted listeners to keep those dimes and dollars coming so that "our farmers will grow so much food next year they can feed hungry people all over the world." Didn't he know that the less American farmers produce the more they earn? We are not the world; let the Ethiopians get their food from countries without soil banks and cropland set-asides.

If you listened closely, you might have heard a political message being injected into the country and western show, when Neil Young and Timothy Hutton urged support for a liberal farm bill sponsored by Iowa Senator Tom Harkin. That angered the conservative Illinois Farm Bureau, and its president attacked the concert as "a carefully orchestrated political event." Orchestrated it certainly was, but to the extent that it had a political purpose, Farm Aid seems to have alienated its wider audience: it drew only about a fifth of its goal of $50 million. Willie Nelson hasn't said exactly how the proceeds will be spent, but if he were as politically smart as he is musically talented, he would use the money to organize farmers to change the government policies that keep them on the edge of bankruptcy and the rest of the world on the brink of starvation.

President Heston

Has it occurred to anyone that Charlton Heston's recent decision to forgo running for the Senate in favor of accepting a role in *Dynasty II* was a political decision? And that, therefore, he must still be taken seriously as a Republican Presidential candidate for 1988?

No doubt the arguments for Heston's considering a run for the Senate were that a Presidential candidate needs to know something about current issues and have a political record. But Heston realized that it would be more useful to his Presidential bid to be seen on television every week than to be buried for two years in the Senate. As a result of Ronald Reagan's success, more and more candidates will be required to defend or exploit the characters they have played in movies or on television, rather than their political ideas. Many politicians have already made debuts as entertainers. Geraldine Ferraro, Henry Kissinger, Gerald Ford, George

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McGovern, Jesse Jackson, Tip O'Neill, Ed Koch and dozens of others have appeared on commercials, sitcoms, variety shows and soap operas. They know what Heston knows: politics is semiotics.

We may take it for granted that if Heston becomes the Republican nominee for President in 1988, the Democrats will have to counter with Gregory Peck. Peck is Orson Welles's choice and a liberal. More to the point, he is the equal of Heston in celebrity and almost his equal in strong and favorable screen imagery. The "almost" will be a problem for the Democrats. Peck has done nothing to compare with Heston's Moses, Ben Hur, Michelangelo and Andrew Jackson, although his portrayals of Douglas MacArthur and the biblical David cannot be taken lightly. Also, Peck is saddled with his portrayal of two certifiable lunatics: Dr. Josef Mengele, in *The Boys From Brazil*, and Captain Ahab, in *Moby Dick*. Even the good guys Peck played had tendencies toward mental problems, which may lead some voters to think he might crack in a nuclear crisis. In *Spellbound*, for example, he suffered from traumatic amnesia and needed the help of two psychiatrists to pull him through. In *Twelve O'Clock High* he went to pieces under the strain of sending bombers on dangerous missions. And this against the Nazis! Can we trust such a man to stand up to the Russians?

Maybe not. But Peck is no patsy. He has the black vote wrapped up with *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and with *Gentleman's Agreement* he'll give Moses a tough run for the Jewish vote. Moreover, Heston is not without political liabilities. He not only failed to do as well as he might have against a group of monkeys (*Planet of the Apes*) but in the same movie bared his rear end. Nudity does not go down well with the folks in Sioux Falls. It is worth mentioning, too, that in 1962 Heston made a movie called *The Pigeon That Took Rome*, a rough equivalent of the President's *Bedtime for Bonzo*. I suspect *Pigeon* will disappear from our television screens once the campaign starts.

At any rate, 1988 should be an interesting year for film critics and other political writers. NEIL POSTMAN

Neil Postman, a professor of communications arts and sciences at New York University, is the author, most recently, of Amusing Ourselves to Death, *forthcoming from Viking.*

Mulroney Says No?

Last month Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced that his government would not participate in research on the Strategic Defense Initiative (S.D.I.) but that it would permit Canadian universities and private firms to bid for U.S. contracts. That response to the Reagan Administration's invitation to share in the fruits of Star Wars technology was praised by many of S.D.I.'s opponents, who did not recognize a con when they saw one. Mulroney's "but" was a go-ahead sign to the Canadian arms industry. As Erik Nielsen, Canadian Minister of Defense, wrote to Caspar Weinberger, "We believe that the extensive existing cooperation in defense research between our two countries is mutually beneficial and should be encouraged to grow."

Mulroney was having it both ways. Politically, he needed to assert that Canada would formulate its defense policy independently. Recent revelations that Washington planned to deploy nuclear depth charges, surface-to-air missiles and strategic bombers throughout northern Canada caused a public outcry and contributed to fears that official involvement in S.D.I. would further embroil the country in Washington's nuclear strategy. After all, the development of the cruise missile's guidance system by Litton Industries in Ontario had contributed to Ottawa's acquiescence to U.S. tests of the missile over northern Alberta Province in the spring. If Canada participated in Star Wars, the United States might deploy S.D.I.-related hardware in Canadian territory, in violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty.

By refusing government participation in S.D.I., Mulroney was merely reaffirming the government's longstanding policy of eschewing a direct role in joint Canadian-U.S. defense projects, backing military research and development in the private sector instead. Each year Canadian companies export more than $1 billion worth of arms to the United States, mostly in the form of component parts. The government helps them by providing generous tax incentives and other financial aid. For example, Litton Industries has received about $40 million in Defense Industry Productivity grants, set up "to develop and sustain the technological capability of the Canadian defense industry for the purpose of . . . export sales."

In addition to those grants, big-name arms exporters like Bristol Aerospace, Canadian Marconi, Leigh Instruments and Pratt and Whitney have received funding from Canada's National Research Council, the government's largest science and technology funder. One day after the Prime Minister's announcement, a spokesman for the council told me: "It's possible that at some point you could have some federal government research money involved in a company that's doing S.D.I. stuff. . . . if we think that Canada can turn a good buck by producing these things . . . we might give them some money." The council's world-class facilities would probably be available, on a rental basis, to any private firm doing S.D.I. research.

Mulroney's virtuous renunciation had little meaning, therefore, since most of the work on Star Wars can still take place in the private sector, financed to the hilt by taxpayers' dollars. Why, then, did the United States solicit Mulroney's approval in the first place? "To get Canada out of the closet," says Ernie Regehr, research director for Project Ploughshares, one of Canada's most prominent centers for peace and conflict studies—to place the Canadian government in a politically compromising position. By withholding government cooperation but allowing business to continue in its traditionally unrestrained way, Mulroney soothed national pride while signaling that Canadian industry will cut itself a piece of the Star Wars pie. DAVID KATTENBERG

David Kattenberg is a U.S. freelance writer living in Canada.

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Peretz in Merger Move

Months of speculation ended last week with official confirmation that *The New Republic*, the politico-literary weekly based in Washington, will merge with *Banana Republic*, the popular travel and safari clothing catalogue. The two publications will fuse under the new title *The Bananas Republic.*

"It's a natural marriage," said Martin Peretz, editor in chief of *T.N.R.*, at an informal press briefing. "Both magazines are targeted at the same audience and emphasize the same themes. We are both essentially concerned with fashion. Now our readers will need only one magazine to find out why we should invade Nicaragua and what to wear when we do."

Peretz discounted suggestions that *Banana Republic*'s stable of writers, which has included Thomas McGuane and Gloria Emerson in recent issues, would find difficulties in a merger with the more conservative *T.N.R.* He drew attention to the copy for the authentic 100 percent cotton Israeli fatigues advertised in the catalogue's fall update: "The moss-green trousers—the color of the leafy shade at the Ein Gedi oasis—have the precise blend of insouciance and toughness that defines the Israeli character," with "button fly, extra-wide contoured waistband (big enough for an ammo belt), and slim legs that tuck neatly into boot-tops." Peretz observed, "We could have printed that without changing a word."

AMERIKA the Beautiful

The ABC show *45/85*, broadcast on September 18, had the usual hefty tote bag of distortions of postwar history, none more insidious than the allegation that the Rosenbergs had changed the face of the postwar world, or more comical than the contribution of Arkady Shevchenko, the noted Soviet defector whose memoirs were recently exposed by Edward Jay Epstein as bogus. Notwithstanding Epstein's destruction of him as a liar and a fraud, Shevchenko was trundled onto the show to buttress Dean Rusk's account of how the United States came to lose the war in Vietnam. Shevchenko obediently reported, "As Andropov once mentioned at the Politburo meeting at which I was present . . . the war wasn't being won by northern Vietnam but in the streets of American cities." Poor old Rambo, stabbed in the back again.

How did Shevchenko deal in his memoirs with what was presumably a momentous occasion? Nowhere in them does he describe a meeting with Andropov, but on page 216 he says that while he was in New York City, he was told by a K.G.B. officer that "Andropov, with unusual bluntness, had remarked, 'We'll win the Vietnam war not in Paris but in the streets of America.'" Shevchenko is so steeped in mendacity that he can't even remember what his ghostwriters have invented.

The next major item on ABC's cold war menu is a miniseries, scheduled for the 1986-87 season, called *AMERIKA* (the "R" is given a Cyrillic reverse for added sinister effect). It is set, in the words of the news release, "Ten years from now, ten years after the Soviet Union has taken over the U.S. without firing a shot. The changes are quiet, insidious—and massive. Some people have accepted them. Some still can't believe. But some are fighting back." The series was dreamed up as a two-hour feature called *Topeka, Kansas, USSR*, back in 1983, as a sacrificial offering to Reed Irvine and the Accuracy in Media crowd, who got hot under the muzzle because they thought *The Day After* gave nuclear war a bad name. Now, according to an article by Nick Coleman in the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* for September 2, ABC envisages spending up to $40 million on the series and is deciding from among three small towns—Milford, Windom and Winterset, in Nebraska, Minnesota and Iowa, respectively—as locations. "This isn't just a bunch of guys with machine guns under McDonald's arches," says Brandon Stoddard, ABC Motion Pictures president. "It's absolutely wonderful and terrifying to the bone. We think it will be the anchor for the whole TV season, and we're very excited about it." The Mayor of Windom, who hopes to get the income-yielding presence of ABC in his town, told Coleman: "They want to film during winter because they need the bleakness. And of course ten years after the Russians took over, things wouldn't be looking too sharp."

Given the way things are in the Farm Belt right now, it would be smarter for the ABC script to pretend that the Commies took over five years ago. Seeing what capitalism has done to the Midwest, it's hard to imagine how the Russians could do worse. In fact . . .

Nebraska sunset, fall 1995. Hank and Eva Buffett stand hand in hand on the porch of their farmhouse. Mighty cornfields stretch away to the horizon. Seven gleaming tractors in the foreground. Shostakovich on the soundtrack. Little Buffetts gambol happily.

HANK: Oh, Eva! Collectivized agriculture has been so good to us! We don't have to hold our land fallow anymore, as we used to in order to get price supports. It makes me feel so good that our excess produce is going to Angola and Mozambique, where they really need it.

EVA: Yes, and interest rates at zero! Now we don't have to worry about the crazy futures market. Our crops are always spoken for, thanks to the government's procurement policies. And the children! They have so much to look forward to now. Who would have thought my little girl could become a ballerina!

Red Army Chorus sings "Higher and Higher" as credits roll.

Zeit und Geist Department

Just to make sure everyone understands how much things have changed, *Rolling Stone* had a special supplement in the September 9 issue of *Advertising Age*. The supplement was a ritzy affair, with the words "Rolling Stone presents a mind altering experience" printed on the cover. Advertising executives could then open up the supplement and find five different images of the "perception" versus the "reality" of

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

who *Rolling Stone* readers are, in such vital matters as income, and consumer and political preferences.

Under the first "perception" there is a Christ-like hippie with flowing hair, facing across the page "reality" in the form of a smug young thruster in tweeds and twill. The spreads that follow have a Kesey-colored Volkswagen van looking at a two-door Mustang; a keg of beer facing upscale bottles of beer and ale; 48 cents in change facing a stack of credit cards and, finally, the "perception" of *Rolling Stone* readers' political preference, George McGovern, facing the "reality": Ronald Reagan. On the back cover are the words "Now that we've altered your mind, it's time you altered your media buy. Call Rolling Stone."

In the same spirit, *Rolling Stone*'s advertising department successfully urged postponement from the college issue of an article about a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, since that same issue had recruitment ads for the U.S. armed forces.

Readings From Paul

Paul Berman, who will no doubt be a regular contributor to *The Bananas Republic*, had a striking paragraph in the pre-merger *New Republic* for September 16. While reviewing *Uncovering the Sixties*, Abe Peck's book on the underground press, Berman takes a swipe at Liberation News Service for printing the Indochina reports of Wilfred Burchett, "who was a friend of the North Vietnamese government and a Communist of the worst sort." He writes:

> Burchett offered the insight (1) that the United States was opposing a popular movement in Vietnam, and (2) that to war against the popular will means to war against the populace, i.e., to make massacre a policy. Yes, without question, the movement paid in the end for the prestige it accorded the Burchett line.

Berman's patronizing libels on the peace movement ("failed Marxist sectarians . . . the outbreak of anti-Semitism . . . shoddy manipulation") will not surprise anyone who has followed his intellectual career, but it would be interesting to know what the United States was doing in Vietnam if not opposing a popular movement and making massacre a policy.

Christian Behavior

The success of Shirley Christian in converting *The New York Times* into a public affairs office of the Reagan Administration and the Nicaraguan *contras* is attracting much attention. It is instructive to compare the "spin" given to one recent State Department briefing paper by Christian and by the Associated Press. On September 9 a number of U.S. newspapers ran an A.P. report on a briefing paper prepared for Elliott Abrams which stated that the collapse of the Contadora talks "wouldn't be a total disaster for U.S. policy." Indeed, the Contadora talks have been a grave embarrassment to the Reagan Administration, which has assiduously sabotaged them.

Writing on the same day about the same document, Christian was careful to give a positive twist at the start of her story. In the lead she quoted Abrams as saying he wished to give new impetus to the search for peace, and then cited the briefing paper as saying the Contadora process "remains central to our policy" but that "collapse would be better than a bad agreement."

This news tilting is sophisticated stuff. A few days later Christian was valiantly trying to negate the effect of an unfavorable report of *contra* atrocities by quoting *contra* leaders as saying they were embarking on a campaign to stamp out atrocities perpetrated by their men. It's hard to read this without laughing. Almost every time (rare enough, God knows) their bestial terror against civilians is reported by the U.S. media, the *contra* leaders dutifully announce a campaign to instill respect for human rights in their men. It was Christian who faithfully reported the glowing testimony of one *contra* officer that in the new era of gentility now unfolding they actually intend to take prisoners of war—thus, far outstripping the Geneva Convention in compassion and respect for basic justice.

The Case of the Vanishing Plane

Whatever happened to the planeload of fifty-two civilians shot down by the Afghan guerrillas on September 7? After some initial confusion the Western press discovered that no civilians ever fly on any planes attacked by Afghan guerrillas, that the plane in question was not shot down but crashed of its own accord and, anyway, was filled with K.G.B. men disguised as women and children.

EDITORS' NOTE

In the *New York Times* Week in Review section on September 15, an article by Claire Sterling, headlined "The Bulgarian Connection Is Still on Trial," reviewed various theories about Mehmet Ali Agca's motives for attempting to kill the Pope and for implicating Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in his attempt. Both in its presentation and content the article seriously violated *The Times*'s standards of fairness.

Mrs. Sterling's considerable personal stake in proving a "Bulgarian connection" was not indicated to the reader, who might have supposed that Mrs. Sterling is a staff correspondent of *The New York Times*. Indulgent editing permitted Mrs. Sterling to discredit preposterous theories to which no one has attached any credence (i.e., that Western intelligence services hired Mr. Agca to shoot the Pope and then blame it on the Soviet bloc), while evading the fact that no statement of Mr. Agca's about the Bulgarians has yet received any external corroboration.

An uninformed reader might have concluded from Mrs. Sterling's article that the testimony of Mr. Agca is not crucial to the case against the Bulgarians. Mrs. Sterling's report could therefore be construed as an attempt to restore confidence in charges against the Bulgarians which she has been instrumental in fostering for the past three years. It is not the policy of *The New York Times* to make itself a party to such enterprises, and its readers are rightly owed an explanation and an apology.

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ARTICLES.

TAIWAN'S PRESS CRACKDOWN

The Long Arm of The Kuomintang

JoANN LUM

Since 1949, the Kuomintang, Taiwan's ruling Nationalist Party, has kept the media under close rein. Recently, the government has pulled tighter on the bit, and press harassment has been on the rise.

According to Hsu Jung-shu, an opposition legislator, government confiscations, bannings and suspensions have hit 90 percent of all nonparty publications. A Taiwanese human rights group estimates that an average of twenty government acts against the press occur every month. Last December and this past January three staff members of the opposition magazine *Progress Weekly* were sentenced to eight months each in prison, and three members of the *Neo-Formosa Weekly* were sentenced to a year each for libel. Although the charges were brought against the publications by two individuals, observers say the government was behind the litigation. The latter case is being reviewed by an appellate court, and the former took a surprising turn last month when the plaintiff dropped the charges.

In April two imprisoned opposition journalists, Shih Ming-teh and Huang Hua, began a hunger strike to demand the release of Taiwan's estimated 256 political prisoners. Shih, who ended his fast on September 1, was arrested in 1980 and is serving a life sentence for sedition and plotting to overthrow the government (his seditious activities included organizing a human rights rally); Huang received a ten-year sentence in 1976, after the magazine for which he worked, *Taiwan Political Review*, was closed down for being subversive.

In addition to imposing stiff fines and prison sentences, the government has adopted new tactics in recent months. According to Edward Shieh, president of the Taiwanese Association of America, a group critical of the Kuomintang, the government hired 1,000 police officers to monitor newsstands and bookstores for nongovernment publications. Any dealer caught selling them is fined and faces the threat of being sent to Green Island, where political prisoners are incarcerated. The International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan reports that police frequently search printing shops, distribution centers and even offices of opposition politicians for such publications.

Direct censorship has also been stepped up. In June, the government ordered the *Min Chung Daily News* in Kaohsiung to suspend publication for a week because it ran a story that violated the law against "propagation of communist propaganda." The story, which appeared June 7 on the front page, was based on an Associated Press dispatch reporting criticisms of the United States and the Soviet Union by People's Republic of China Premier Zhao Ziyang when he was in London on a state visit.

Shieh attributes the recent crackdown to the government's displeasure over press reports that it was behind the murder last year of Chinese-American journalist Henry Liu in California [see Patrick Smith, "In Taiwan Many Questions Remain," *The Nation*, May 18] and to efforts by President Chiang Ching-kuo, who is in failing health, to prevent opposition journals from writing about his succession plans. Other observers cite the government's embarrassment over the extensive coverage of the collapse of a large conglomerate headed by legislator Tsai Chen-chou, and its desire to silence the opposition before the local elections in the fall.

More startling are the charges that the long arm of the Taiwanese government has reached Chinese-language publications in the United States. The evidence is still conflicting, but the prospect has stirred up the Taiwanese-American community. Last November the U.S. edition of *China Times* was forced to close, and observers say that there were political as well as financial reasons for its demise. The newspaper was more liberal than its pro-government parent in Taipei and had published articles about Olympic athletes from China (whom the Taiwanese press scrupulously ignored), an editorial critical of President Reagan and articles suggesting that the Henry Liu murder was politically motivated. Liu himself had written a letter to *Washington Post* columnist Jack Anderson saying that the *Times* "was a victim of political interference, which [U.S.] laws prohibit."

In a recent libel case in Alexandria, Virginia, the suppression issue was raised by the defense. Dr. Tzu-Min Kao, chief editorial writer for the U.S.-based, pro-Kuomintang *China Times Weekly*, sued the *Taiwan Tribune*, published in New York City, charging that it had defamed him by printing false information and by calling him a "four-legged Taiwanese animal." He demanded $4.15 million in damages. The *Tribune*'s lawyers argued that Dr. Kao brought the suit with the backing of the Taiwanese government, which wants to put the newspaper out of business.

The case provoked a heated political debate in the Taiwanese community. On one side were those who thought that the paper had launched a personal attack on the doctor because of ideological differences. The *Tribune* was hostile to Kao, they said, because of his outspoken support for the Kuomintang; Kao charged that the paper was using him to attack the ruling party.

But former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, one of the attorneys for the paper, points to the climate of fear among Taiwanese in the United States and the evidence linking Kao to the Taiwanese government, and refutes the contention that the suit arose out of a personal or purely ideological feud. In the past few years, both here and in Taiwan, a number of opponents of the regime have been intimidated and even murdered. In 1981, for example, Wen-Chen Chen,

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an assistant professor at Carnegie-Mellon University and a supporter of the opposition magazine *Formosa*, was found dead in Taiwan shortly after being interrogated by security police. The authorities ruled his death a suicide. And there were press reports that Chen Chi-li, the Taiwanese gang leader and one of the confessed hit men in the assassination of Henry Liu, planned to kill other anti-Kuomintang Taiwanese in this country. Incidents like these, Clark says, have fueled the "prevalent psychology of the Taiwanese community—bordering on paranoia."

The *Taiwan Tribune*, published twice weekly, is an outspoken critic of the Kuomintang government. Several of its shareholders belong to World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI), which wants to end the Kuomintang's thirty-six years of martial-law rule. The paper's circulation is only about 3,500, but it is distributed in the United States, Canada, Europe, Japan and Brazil, and even smuggled into Taiwan. Of the more than fifty Chinese-language publications published in America, only the *Tribune* and the Los Angeles-based *Formosa Weekly* support the Taiwan Independence Movement, which calls for Taiwanese majority rule. The other publications favor either the People's Republic of China or the Kuomintang.

Clark says that the Kao case "was clearly an effort to silence a voice, an exile voice in the United States that is speaking out against the government in its homeland." Kao, who is director of the physical therapy department at Jefferson Memorial Hospital in Alexandria, denied any connection to the Taiwan government and said that he filed the lawsuit to protect his reputation. He accused the *Tribune* of being a "propaganda newspaper for the Taiwan Independence Movement" and the "official newspaper for WUFI," which he called a "terrorist organization." He said he was reluctant to bring the suit: "I'm a writer too so I respect freedom of speech . . . but terrorist groups are stopping freedom of speech."

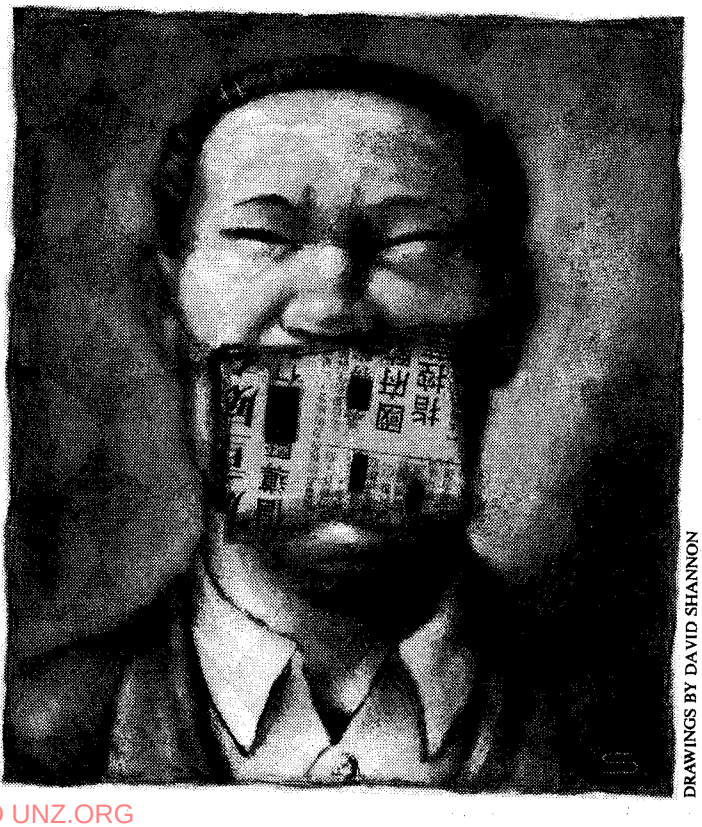
The articles in the *Tribune* that provoked Kao appeared in the issues of December 24, 1983, and February 18, 1984. One was headlined "A Taiwan-Speaking Four-Legged Taiwanese," and the other, actually a letter to the editor, "The Everlasting Kao Tzu-Min." Both were published under pseudonyms. The articles criticized Kao's political activities, including his writings in various pro-Kuomintang publications.

Language and culture gave the case an exotic twist. As defense lawyer Weldon Brewer points out: "Libel law assumes that the jury understands the language of the newspaper. That's not so here. The translation was important." The defense disputed Kao's translations of many of the words he labeled insulting or defamatory. A phrase he rendered as a "Taiwanese animal with four legs" the defense translated as a "four-legged Taiwanese," explaining that it was a term islanders used for their Japanese occupiers from 1895 to 1945 and then for the Nationalist Chinese, who took over after World War II. Language experts who testified for the defense said the term is now used to mean a collaborator or supporter, one who serves a foreign ruler. In that sense, they said, the term was not libelous.

Each side in the case tried to depict itself the weaker party, beset by a powerful opponent. Pointing up its small size and low budget, the *Tribune* claimed that Kao and the Kuomintang wanted to bankrupt it. Numerous documents and the testimony of eight witnesses were introduced to establish Kao's ties to the ruling party. They indicated that Kao was a member, and possibly the founder, of the Taiwanese Benevolent Association of America, a cultural and educational organization sympathetic to the party, and the chair of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, alleged by the *Tribune* to be an arm of the Taiwanese government. The defense introduced articles by Kao that were favorable to the Taiwanese government and a letter to Representative Stephen Solarz of the House Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs, which Kao and a number of others had signed, lobbying on the government's behalf. The defense also showed that Kao associated with many people in the Taiwanese and American governments, contrary to his claim that he was not involved in politics. According to the defense, all this evidence provided abundant, if circumstantial, proof that Kao had brought the suit at the behest of the Taiwanese government.

Kao insisted that he had never been a member of the Kuomintang and, after the trial, produced a letter from the party to that effect. He denied that he had anything to do with the Overseas Commission and said he was simply an adviser to the Benevolent Association.

For the *Taiwan Tribune*, establishing a link between Kao and the Kuomintang was the crux of the case. That link would prove that the suit was part of the regime's intensified crackdown on the Taiwanese press. The defense introduced in evidence the minutes of a high-level party meeting last October at which a policy of stricter censorship of opposi-



DRAWINGS BY DAVID SHANNON

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tion publications was adopted. Such evidence persuaded the jury, which found that the articles in question were not false, though they were defamatory. In June, Kao requested a retrial but was denied and did not appeal. The *Tribune* insists it will not change its editorial policy. "We still print what we need to," says Kang-Lu Wang, a stockholder.

Although he was disappointed with the outcome of the trial, Kao was quoted as saying, "It's a good lesson for writers to pay attention to what they write." Obviously he was talking about what he considered errors in the *Tribune* articles, but his words could also be taken as a warning to dissident publications. □

DEATH IN THE FIELDS

Pesticide Risk To Farm Workers

RICHARD WILES

In August 1983, Zacarias Ruiz was spraying a weed-and-bug killer called Dinoseb on cotton in Texas. Like most "undocumented workers," he wore no special clothing to shield him from the chemical which leaked profusely from his backpack sprayer. Later that day, he developed a high fever and was taken to the local hospital, where he was given aspirin. A few hours later he died, another victim of pesticide misuse and a regulatory system that fails to prevent it.

What exactly caused Ruiz's death? Clearly, the leaky sprayer should have been fixed before he put it on. And he should have been wearing protective clothing, required by law in California but not at the time in Texas or other states. But the whole tragic affair could have been avoided if the manufacturer, Platte Chemical, had stated clearly on the label that Dinoseb poisonings should not be treated with aspirin, which makes the chemical more potent. Although pesticide labels are supposed to bear such warnings, the Environmental Protection Agency hadn't got around to checking up on Dinoseb, or the dozens of other products that pose similar risks.

No one is quite sure how many people in the United States are poisoned by pesticides each year, since most field hands don't seek medical treatment unless they become incapacitated, or even how many are at risk of falling ill from pesticide exposure. According to a Federal task force, about half of the nation's 5 million agricultural laborers face the same danger Zacarias Ruiz did. Farm workers' organizations in various states paint a more disturbing picture: in some instances, fully two-thirds of the work force has been sprayed directly or covered with drifting insecticides, while an even greater number may be contaminated by "dislodgeable residues," which shake loose from standing crops.

Strangely, the E.P.A. has interpreted the lack of information as an argument in favor of relaxed vigilance. Under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), adopted in 1947 and rewritten in 1972, the agency is charged with insuring that pesticides "will not generally cause unreasonable adverse effects on the environment," including human beings. Agency scientists review toxicological data supplied by manufacturers and set a so-called tolerance level for residues in food. They also decide how each chemical should be applied: for example, an insecticide that is registered for use on potatoes at two pounds per acre may not legally be sprayed at other dosages or on other crops. Normally, the E.P.A. will not license a new pesticide (or will cancel an old one) if it causes cancer, birth defects or other serious disorders at a rate higher than one per million among the general population. But until recently, the agency had steadfastly refused to require tests by manufacturers that measure the unique exposure of farm workers or to impose restrictions aimed at reducing it. Instead, the agency pretends that everybody, even field hands who work in an atmosphere permeated with pesticide residues, absorbs no more than the minute quantities allowed in food.

Why the charade? Because FIFRA was a political compromise forged under intense pressure from both the farm lobby and the chemical industry. Unlike other labor laws, notably the Occupational Safety and Health Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, FIFRA does not set strict standards for the workplace. It instructs the E.P.A. to balance pesticide regulations against the cost to growers or anyone else "throughout the agricultural economy." Thus, agency officials are constantly required to judge whether the added expense of, say, including a warning against aspirin on a product label will be offset by the savings in human illness and suffering.

The results of such compromises are inevitable. Whereas the E.P.A. usually sticks to its one-per-million rule when the general public is at risk, with farm workers it is willing to take much greater chances: one in 100,000 or less. Like the recent debate over EDB, the carcinogenic fumigant used on stored grain, such calculations literally put a price on human life.

The case of chlorobenzilate, an insecticide used mainly on citrus crops, provides an example of the way the E.P.A. handles its complicated mandate to make rules and enforce them. Chlorobenzilate, made by Ciba-Geigy, had been on the U.S. market for several years when the agency received information showing that it caused cancer and testicular disorders. Scientists estimated that the chemical might induce as many as 1,400 cases of cancer per million workers, particularly among mixers, loaders and sprayers like Zacarias Ruiz. For reproductive disorders, the number ranged between 371 and 1,884 per million.

The E.P.A. did not cancel the pesticide's registration, however. Arguing that other substances would cost citrus growers $57 million a year more, agency officials focused on ways of reducing the risk to "acceptable" levels. Overruling

Richard Wiles is an agricultural policy analyst in Washington and co-author of "Farmworkers and Pesticide Safety in the United States," published by the World Resources Institute.

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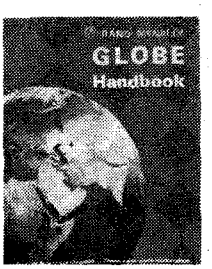

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the objections of public interest groups, they ordered workers who spray the chemical to wear protective clothing and take other precautions. If those instructions were followed, they said, the cancer rate would drop to sixty cases per million.

Left out of the equation were the hazards to thousands of migrant and seasonal workers who harvest citrus crops and do not wear protective clothing. Rather than resolve that problem, the E.P.A. said it "assumed" that field hands would be in less danger than applicators. No such assumption was shared by the National Academy of Sciences, which in 1980 concluded an evaluation of the E.P.A.'s regulatory program. According to the academy, the added cost to growers of switching from chlorobenzilate to another chemical would be closer to $3 million than $57 million.

Unfortunately, such lapses by the E.P.A. are the rule, not the exception. Congress hobbles the agency by delegating to state officials the responsibility for certifying and policing the 2 million Americans (mostly farmers) licensed to supervise pesticide applications. Instead of enforcing a uniform Federal standard itself, the E.P.A. must rely on state inspectors to find and punish farmers who use pesticides improperly. Generally speaking, this arrangement has not worked well. From 1975 to 1980, according to the General Accounting Office, nearly half of the investigations conducted by state officials led to insufficient penalties or were otherwise inadequate. Even among the E.P.A.'s own field officers, who review state actions, the rate of error reached 18 percent. The one bright spot in this picture occurred during the Carter Administration, when the E.P.A. put some pressure on state officials to enforce the law.

Since 1981, though, even that modest improvement has been erased. Earlier shortcomings have been compounded by the Reagan Administration's hostility toward environmental regulation. As a result, enforcement patterns have shifted from sterner measures, like suspending or revoking applicator licenses, to largely symbolic sanctions, like letters of reprimand. The record speaks for itself: civil fines, a proven deterrent, have decreased from an average of eighty-nine per year to forty-three; criminal prosecutions, from forty-nine to twenty-eight; and the number of cases referred by state officials to the E.P.A. for direct action, from thirty-three to thirteen. Meanwhile, the number of hearings, cease-and-desist orders and other mild forms of rebuke has risen. Administration officials have revived the Nixonian doctrine of plausible denial. While pointing out that overall caseloads have not declined, they conceal the fact that FIFRA itself has been all but nullified.

The result is exactly the kind of negligence that killed Zacarias Ruiz. Ironically, workers at Platte Chemical who made the fatal drum of Dinoseb were protected by OSHA, a far tougher law. Clearly, some basic reforms are in order. As Congress considers the extension of FIFRA in the current session, it must face the fact that pesticides are too dangerous to be put on the market without thorough scrutiny and dispensed by eager salesmen making unrestrained claims.

If pesticide use was reduced to the minimum amount needed for crop production, lives would be saved and serious illnesses prevented. And if, beyond that, field hands everywhere were protected by measures similar to those already enacted in California, we would have the beginnings of a national policy that emphasized human health and safety above the short-term interests of chemical companies. □

Costa Rica

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

wants to convert this once-peaceful country into another Honduras to increase the pressure on Nicaragua and even provide a pretext for an American attack on the Sandinistas. And there are Costa Ricans who seriously fear that the far right welcomes the U.S. pressure for militarization because it wants to build up a military force to preserve its privileges in the event of social unrest. Opponents of militarization worry because the administration of President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez is growing increasingly bellicose in its rhetorical attacks on the Sandinista government, as border incidents continue.

Although the politicians claim they are just upgrading their police forces—the Civil Guard, which patrols the borders, and the somewhat smaller Rural Guard—anyone at the graduation ceremony would recognize the 375 men for what they are, soldiers. They were trained by elite combat troops to counter subversion and guerrilla warfare, and they were trained not with Police Specials but with M-16s, .50 caliber and M-60 machine guns, and antitank weapons. Plainly, two infantry companies do not a mighty military force make; but Companies C and D of the Lightning Battalion are now undergoing training, and Minister of Public Security Benjamin Piza Carranza, under whose jurisdiction the Civil Guard falls, told me he would like to see the entire 5,500-man force receive similar instruction.

What most concerns opponents of militarization is that in August 1984 President Monge changed the political complexion of the Ministry of Public Security, replacing Angel Edmundo Solano Calderón, who was fairly liberal and not hostile to the Sandinistas, with Piza, a founder of the Free Costa Rica Movement, this country's equivalent of the John Birch Society. Piza assured me that Costa Rica does not want and cannot afford an army, but he also spoke of "expansionist Marxist-Leninists" under Soviet and Cuban control. And the second man in the ministry, Col. Johnny Campos, is a confirmed right-winger, who in July announced to the press that leftists and subversives had penetrated every level of government, including the Casa Presidencial.

This summer relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua heated up. President Monge began declaring that Nicaragua wanted war, despite President Daniel Ortega Saavedra's repeated pleas for a cooling of tensions along the border and his assertions that the Sandinistas were not responsible for

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the death of two Civil Guards there on May 31. Monge declared that Costa Rica's national honor and sovereignty had been violated, and he spoke of seeking unspecified aid from unspecified countries. Presenting his credentials on August 1, the new U.S. Ambassador, Lewis Tambs, said that if Costa Rica asked for assistance the United States would respond affirmatively.

What that assistance might be the embassy did not say, although a spokesman did tell me that no troops were contemplated. He also said that any U.S. aid would come only in response to a Costa Rican request. One treats that assertion with skepticism, because ever since 1981, when U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick told the Costa Rican government that if it wanted help it would have to arm itself, the United States has urged one form of "aid" or another on this country: sending the Navy, sending the Coast Guard, inviting Costa Rican participation in Central American war games, proposing that roads be built to the Nicaraguan border by armed combat engineers. Some in the Monge administration and outside it were enthusiastic about becoming a more integral part of Ronald Reagan's Central America strategy, but Monge himself and a number of his Cabinet ministers, even though openly critical of the Sandinistas, seemed genuinely reluctant to take the leap. Monge turned down those early inducements to militarize but did ask for modest amounts of modern weapons and financial aid. Finally, however, the leap was made when, in May, the Green Berets arrived.

The evidence has long been overwhelming, despite Costa Rican denials, that *contras* have been operating out of this country and that Civil and/or Rural Guardsmen help them or look the other way. Not only *contra* wives and children but the fighters themselves have been found in refugee camps. Indeed, the government of the Netherlands recently canceled a $500,000 donation for the refugees after Dutch journalists discovered that the camps were being used as rest stops by *contras*.

Embarrassing to the government was the Rural Guard's April 24 capture of a *contra* group of five foreigners and nine Nicaraguans. Two of the mercenaries, Steven Carr of the United States and Peter Glibbery of Britain, said they had been flying arms supplied by right-wing Florida Cubans to an air base in El Salvador. In Costa Rica, they said, they had been helped by the Civil Guard, which even provided explosives intended to create incidents that would be blamed on the Sandinistas [see Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan's article on page 311]. Carr and Glibbery have been repeatedly questioned by the press, and their story is generally accepted.

More embarrassing to Costa Rican authorities was the recent helicopter crash of Edén Pastora Gómez, whose Revolutionary Democratic Alliance operates out of Costa Rica. On July 23 rumors spread that either he had been shot down by Sandinistas or he had had an accident. Even as a U.S. Embassy representative was telling reporters that Pastora had gone down in Nicaragua, *The Tico Times*, the English-language weekly, learned that the Rural Guard had found the helicopter nineteen miles inside Costa Rica. Pastora, with the aid of friendly locals, escaped across the border to Nicaragua, where he was supposed to have been.

It seems likely that as soon as the *contra* operations from Costa Rica end, so too will the shooting incidents on the border.

To understand why Costa Rica is on the verge of becoming an active participant in the Reagan Administration's crusade against the Sandinistas, it is necessary to trace two inseparable but distinct threads, one political and the other economic. First, it should be understood that U.S. aid is not being forced on a reluctant nation. Although there are those who oppose what they see as Costa Rica's being sucked into the Central American maelstrom, the nation as a whole is opposed to the Sandinistas. Initially, the Costa Rican government and people, except for those on the right, supported the Nicaraguan revolution, but gradually public opinion changed. Part of that was because of disappointment with Managua's ties to Havana and Moscow and with the defection from the Sandinistas of revolutionaries like Pastora. The charge of a "betrayed revolution," so often leveled at Cuba, began to be accepted by many, perhaps most, Costa Ricans. This disillusionment has been fanned relentlessly by the largely right-wing press. The newspapers *La Nación*, *La República* and *La Prensa Libre* have printed a stream of stories, columns and editorials hostile to the Sandinistas.

Monge took office in May 1982, as public opinion was beginning to shift, succeeding Rodrigo Carazo Odio, who was sympathetic to the Sandinistas. He appealed to Reagan for aid and was publicly critical of Nicaragua, but initially he was responsive to those in Costa Rica who supported

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Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
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neutrality. Indeed, for a time the neutralists, a coalition of grass-roots Costa Rican organizations joined by the U.S. Citizens Committee, a group of U.S. nationals living in Costa Rica who are opposed to Reagan's Central America policy, thought their view might prevail. On November 17, 1983, Monge proclaimed a policy of "perpetual unarmed neutrality." That same month U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Fred C. Ikle provoked Monge's annoyance by presenting a plan to send "combat engineers" to Costa Rica to build roads to the Nicaraguan border. Monge promptly told the press that his government was opposed. The controversy simmered for a couple of months during which Washington modified its plan, proposing instead to send 1,200 "citizen soldiers,"—U.S. National Guardsmen. But the public fuss doomed the plan and it was shelved.

In May of the following year, however, Costa Rica asked Washington for nearly $8 million in emergency military aid. According to an internal State Department report disclosed at the time by *The Washington Post*, Administration officials were eager to fill the request. "It provides an opportunity to help shift the political balance in our favor on Nicaragua's southern flank," the report said. And *The Post* quoted further: "It could lead to a significant shift from [Costa Rica's] neutralist tightrope act and push it more explicitly and publicly into the anti-Sandinista camp. This could pay important political and diplomatic dividends for us."

On May 15, 1984, an estimated 40,000 people turned out to watch 8,000 marchers—including a number of parliamentary deputies and a U.S. contingent of fifty—demonstrate in support of neutrality in San José [see Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, "Costa Ricans Want the *Contras* Out," *The Nation*, November 3, 1984]. Former Presidents José Figueres Ferrer and Daniel Oduber Quirós made speeches, as did the rector of the University of Costa Rica, Fernando Duran; Archbishop Roman Arrieta Bolaños sent a message. Figueres's speech was particularly significant, since he is regarded as the father of democratic Costa Rica. After a successful revolution in 1948 he voluntarily turned over authority to civil officials and abolished the army that had put him in power.

Although for a while President Monge continued to welcome pro-neutrality pressure—especially from U.S. nationals, whom he seemed to consider a counterweight to the embassy—the balance slowly began to shift. With the death of the two Civil Guardsmen, the Monge administration clearly abandoned neutrality.

The escalating *contra* war has not been the Costa Rican government's only major worry over the past few years. The proportion of the country's foreign debt (estimated at between $4 billion and $6 billion) to its gross national product has reached 125 percent (versus 44.3 percent in Brazil). In 1981, Costa Rica was unable to pay its interest, and the banks turned off the money. Imports fell sharply, crippling industry; inflation zoomed to triple digits as the colon was devalued to less than one-sixth of its previous worth; unemployment soared; and the middle-class standard of living fell precipitously. The government feared social unrest.

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At that crucial time, the United States began pouring money into Costa Rica. In fiscal 1980, the last year of the Carter Administration, Costa Rica got $16 million. By 1983, U.S. aid had reached more than $200 million a year, and nearly $190 million is already assured for 1986. If the Sandinistas had eighteen *comandantes* instead of nine, a popular joke goes, Costa Rica would be receiving twice as much money.

For the current year an additional $80 million is expected from the World Bank, $50 million from the International Monetary Fund and smaller amounts from other multilateral sources, such as the Inter-American Development Bank. Private banks will provide about $75 million more. Costa Rica now ranks second only to Israel in U.S. direct aid per capita. Most of this money goes to paying interest on the external debt rather than to economic development.

There is more bad news. In 1984 unemployment was recorded at 8 percent and underemployment at 17.5 percent, figures commonly acknowledged to be far too low. A report from President Monge's office late in 1983 put the percentage of rural people in poverty at 83 percent, a figure that has probably improved somewhat. In 1981, one-tenth of 1 percent of the farmers owned about 15 percent of the land, and just 1 percent owned 36 percent of the land. Looking at it from the bottom up, 48.8 percent of the farmers held only 1.9 percent of the land, and the trend toward land concentration has accelerated since then.

The official hope is that Costa Rica can pull itself up by increasing its exports, but it faces competition from every other country in a similar situation. Such prominent and restrained economists as Eduardo Lizano Fait, head of the Central Bank, and Francisco Gutierrez, programs director of the respected think tank Economic and Financial Counselors, say that the government that comes to power next May will have only two or three years to set the country's economic house in order. After that time, unless conditions improve, social unrest could come.

There is widespread agreement that the quality of life in Costa Rica is deteriorating. Opponents of militarization are vilified; the 78-year-old Figueres has been called senile, a communist and even a fifth columnist. At a demonstration last year, two striking workers were killed by the Civil Guard, and in June, to the embarrassment of the government and many Costa Ricans, a riot broke out in front of the Nicaraguan Embassy. When *La Nación* printed a photograph of the latter incident, it blotted out the Free Costa Rica Movement emblem on the shirt of one of the rioters. (That is not surprising considering that the newspaper's subdirector, J.A. Sánchez Alonso, is one of the leaders of the movement. When its president, Bernal Urbina, was asked by journalists who his intellectual mentor was, he pointed to a picture of Francisco Franco.) The Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in Central America reported in July that human rights violations are increasing.

Militarization is not likely to be much of an issue in the elections next February. The two leading candidates to succeed Monge, Oscar Arias Sánchez and Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier, oppose the Sandinistas. Calderon may take a harder line; an arch-anticommunist, he has been received at the White House by Ronald Reagan and is the darling of far-right political contributors in the United States.

With President Monge's abandonment of neutrality, open political opposition to militarization has almost disappeared, except for José Figueres, a few deputies in the Legislative Assembly and opposition politicians like Juan José Echeverria Brealy. Former Minister of Public Security and of the Interior, and thus onetime head of both the Civil and the Rural Guard, Echeverria fears that an army, even if it is called a police force, could be turned against the people. He complains that the press ignores his criticisms, and he is convinced that social unrest is imminent. The only other open opponents of militarization are those in that coalition of grass-roots Costa Rican organizations and the U.S. Citizens Committee, working together out of the Friends Peace Center. Other leftist organizations are weak and engaged in factional disputes.

The Reagan Administration argues that it is acting to preserve democracy in Costa Rica. But Pedro León, a young cellular biologist at the University of Costa Rica and head of the board of the Friends Peace Center, says that if Ronald Reagan really wants to foster democracy in Central America, he should not force Costa Rica to take sides in his quarrel with Nicaragua. "Just being here and offering an alternative is a service to democracy," he says. "If you don't see that, there's no hope." □

The Carlos File

MARTHA HONEY AND TONY AVIRGAN

San José

For the past eighteen months we have been investigating the explosion of a bomb at a May 30, 1984, press conference called by Edén Pastora Gómez, head of the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), which operates along the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Three journalists and five *contras* died in the blast, which took place in the Nicaraguan border town of La Penca, and twenty-six others, including Tony Avirgan, were injured. Propelled by our personal link to the tragedy and by the growing realization that no government or police agency was seriously investigating the bombing, we sought to uncover the identity of the bomber—a man who, journalists at the press conference say, posed as a Danish photographer, planted a metal box containing the bomb and vanished, uninjured, shortly after the explosion. Our research was supported in part by the Newspaper

Martha Honey is a freelance journalist who reports for The Times *and* The Sunday Times *of London, the BBC and other television networks. Tony Avirgan is a cameraman for CBS and reports for the BBC and National Public Radio. They have lived in Costa Rica for more than two years.*

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Guild and the Committee to Protect Journalists.

A year's worth of interviews with more than one hundred people in Central and South America, the United States and Europe failed to uncover the bomber's name or many of the details of the plot. We did, however, gather proof that U.S. officials and Costa Rican security officers planted stories in the press, pinning the blame on the Sandinistas and the Basque separatist organization, Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna (E.T.A.). A number of leads also pointed to Central Intelligence Agency participation in the bombing. Several current or former C.I.A. agents and informants—including a high-ranking Uruguayan police officer and a Cuban from Miami—told us that the agency was behind it. And in the course of our investigation, several names recurred: John Hull, an American who owns and manages a ranch and other extensive properties in northern Costa Rica; a high-ranking official in the Costa Rican Ministry of Public Security; and an anti-Castro Cuban named Felipe Vidal Santiago. Many of our sources implicated these three men in the bombing and said that they all have ties to the C.I.A. (In an interview with us, Vidal denied he had a C.I.A. connection, and Hull told other reporters that he was not involved with the agency.) Despite all our efforts, we were still no closer to discovering the identity of the bomber.

Then, in March, a young Nicaraguan walked into a San José bar and sat down next to a Costa Rican carpenter named Carlos, the neighbor of a North American woman who works in our office. The Nicaraguan, who called himself David, told Carlos about the existence of a dirty tricks squad working for the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), the leading *contra* group, and said he knew the identity of the La Penca bomber. Through his neighbor, Carlos contacted us, and in the months that followed we supplied him with questions to ask David as well as with approximately $50 for David's cab fare, to facilitate their meetings. David's story raises numerous questions, and some of it cannot be verified. But as long as there is a chance that he was telling the truth, his story must be published so that journalists and members of the U.S. Congress can investigate his charges.

David's story opens with a string of coincidences that strain North American credulity but are plausible in the overheated, factionalized atmosphere of Central America. On Friday, March 29, 1985, Carlos was sipping a beer in the Rendezvous Bar near the U.S. Embassy in downtown San José. Three men came in; from their accents Carlos judged them to be Nicaraguans. Two of them then left, telling the other to wait for them. This man, described as short, dark-skinned and young, with a smooth round face and straight black hair, immediately turned to Carlos. "You must help me," he whispered. "Hide me. I want to get away. I don't want to be involved anymore in their things. They are going to dynamite the U.S. Embassy and many innocent people will die. I want to get out."

For the next ten minutes, David poured out his story. He claimed to be part of a right-wing group composed of anti-Castro Cubans, Nicaraguan *contras*, Costa Ricans and North Americans with ties to the C.I.A. They operated from safe houses and *contra* camps in Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, Nicaragua and Miami, he said, moving "in and out of Costa Rica like a dog from its own house." He said the group was responsible for the La Penca bombing and was planning a series of terrorist attacks which would be blamed on the Sandinistas. These include bombing the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica and in Honduras, attacking the offices of Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez and assassinating the U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, Lewis Tambs; Miskito leader Brooklyn Rivera; and Urbina Lara, a well-known *contra*.

David trembled as he spoke and seemed near tears. "I'm an anti-Sandinista," he told Carlos. "But these people are much more evil than the Sandinistas." He also claimed they trafficked in cocaine, marijuana and arms. "They are making money off the blood of my brothers and using our cause to get rich." When Carlos asked why he didn't tell his story to the Costa Rican authorities, David replied that a number of government and security officials were collaborating with his group. Out of desperation, he had chosen to confide in a sympathetic-looking stranger. Carlos explained that he could not hide David in his house. As the other two men entered the bar, David urged the carpenter to keep in touch.

Carlos mulled over David's story for several weeks. On three separate occasions he saw David's companions near the U.S. Embassy. Once they got into a gray limousine without license plates. But what overcame Carlos's reluctance to get involved was the announcement, on April 25, that Costa Rican Rural Guardsmen had arrested nine Nicaraguan *contras* and five foreign mercenaries at an F.D.N. camp located on a farm managed by John Hull of the United States. David had told Carlos that part of his group used that camp. Now Carlos feared that the U.S. Embassy really might be bombed. He contacted his neighbor, thinking that she might be able to alert U.S. officials. She notified us, and we spoke with the embassy's security officer, George Mitchell, who seemed unimpressed.

David's story represented a possible breakthrough for us. At last we might have a source who could confirm the rumors we had been hearing and fill in the gaps in our investigation. We urged Carlos to contact David again, and one Saturday not long after, he saw David and the two others near the U.S. Embassy. When David's companions left to make a telephone call, Carlos slipped him a note with our number. David refused to meet with us because of the danger of being seen talking to "gringos," but over the following weeks, he met with Carlos at a series of prearranged spots—a park near the university, a hotel, a bus. We supplied specific questions and Carlos tape-recorded their conversations whenever possible, took notes or simply remembered what David had told him.

Carlos described David as being extremely nervous, repeatedly telling Carlos that the others in his group didn't trust him and had threatened to kill him and his brother, who was with the F.D.N. inside Nicaragua, if he was caught passing information. David was planning to flee but was awaiting his brother's arrival from Nicaragua with the rest

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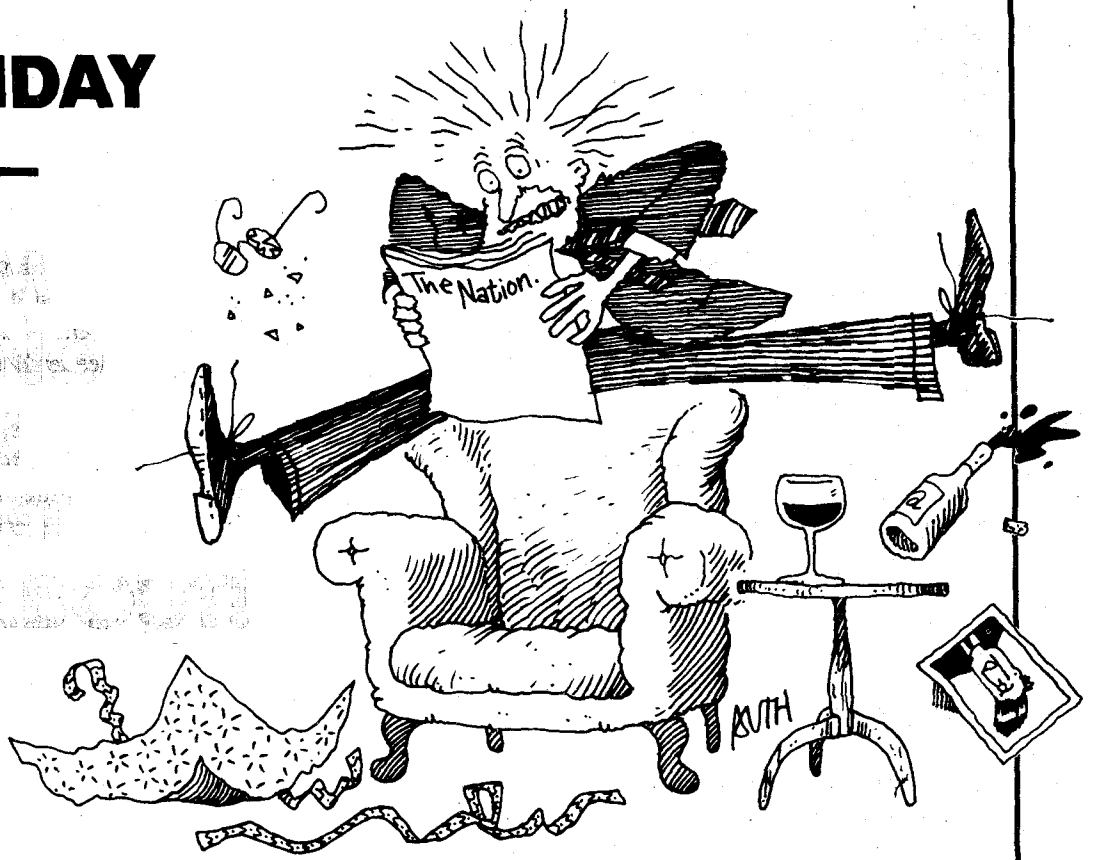

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of the hit team. In the meantime, he told Carlos, he wanted to expose the dirty tricks squad.

David told Carlos that the man who had planted the bomb at the press conference and who had identified himself as Per Anker Hansen, a Danish photographer, was a right-wing Libyan exile named Amac Galil. He was hired in Chile by two F.D.N. officials and a C.I.A. agent who poses as a journalist, David said. Galil was considered ideal for the job because if his identity became known, most people would assume that he was working for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. David said the bombing was planned at meetings in Honduras attended by F.D.N. leader Adolfo Calero Portocarrero; two Miami Cubans, Felipe Vidal Santiago and Rene Corbo; John Hull; and a North American who was identified to David's group as being from the C.I.A.

This story meshed with other accounts we had heard. After analyzing a voice recording of the man later identified as the bomber, made by journalists on the scene, linguists concluded that he was not a native Spanish speaker, and several speculated that he was either Libyan or Israeli. Some of the people whom David and others had implicated in the plot circulated a story that the bomber was a Libyan working for Qaddafi.

In addition we knew something about several of the alleged conspirators. Calero's desire to get rid of Pastora so the F.D.N. can open a second front in southern Nicaragua is well known in *contra* circles. We have a copy of the diary of a U.S. mercenary soldier who served with the F.D.N. In it he describes a meeting at Calero's house in Miami at which the murder of Pastora was discussed by Hull, some unnamed Cubans and another man, who identified himself as being "from the company." Pastora's aides claim to have evidence linking the C.I.A. to a plot to eliminate "Comandante Zero."

Hull is by his own admission a *contra* patron. Prior to the bombing he aided Pastora; since then, he has quietly supported the F.D.N. Pastora, Costa Rican security officials and mercenaries we have spoken to all claim that Hull works for the C.I.A. and coordinates F.D.N. operations in Costa Rica.

Two soldiers of fortune, Peter Glibbery and Steven Carr, who say they worked under Hull, told us that he discussed with them several schemes to provoke direct U.S. military action against Nicaragua. These included staging an attack against the northern Costa Rican town of Los Chiles and "spreading around some Sandinista bodies" to make it appear as if Managua were responsible. Glibbery said that on one occasion Hull forbade him to take some Claymore mines because "we may need them for an embassy job later on."

Contra and Cuban sources say that Hull introduced Vidal and Corbo into ARDE as military trainers. The two, who have been connected with ultraright Cuban exile groups in Miami, arrived in Costa Rica in mid-1983, and Pastora aides told us they have long suspected that Vidal had a role in the bombing.

We already had reason to believe that several Costa Rican officials assisted in the plot, helped the bomber escape and planted stories in the press. David named two of them: the man from the Ministry of Public Security and Col. Rodrigo Paniagua, a former agent for the ministry who maintains close ties with it. Former and current ministry employees had told us that the high-level official was responsible for circulating the stories and phony documents blaming the E.T.A. and the Sandinistas for the bombing. They also had said he works closely with the C.I.A. Both government and *contra* sources say that Colonel Paniagua serves as liaison between Hull and security officials. ARDE sources suspect that Paniagua knew of the bombing because he personally urged Pastora to hold the ill-fated press conference.

David also told Carlos that Galil sometimes stayed in Managua at the home of anti-Sandinista relatives of President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who are involved in drug and arms smuggling.

On July 17, David told Carlos that Galil and his hit team would arrive in Costa Rica in a few days and carry out attacks on the embassy and other targets. Soon after, other strikes would be carried out in Honduras. On July 17, in a diplomatic note delivered to Managua, the U.S. government warned that Nicaragua would be held responsible for terrorist attacks against U.S. personnel anywhere in Central America. Horrified by this message, we contacted a Costa Rican government minister we knew to be a strong supporter of neutrality and an opponent of *contra* activities in the country and told him about the plot. He went straight to President Monge, who instructed him to work with several other officials in carrying out an investigation and snagging the hit team if it entered the country. We exchanged information with Maj. Harry Barrantes, an official of the Costa Rican Rural Guard, who had infiltrated the F.D.N.

Several days later, as David and Carlos were about to part after a long meeting, they were pushed at gunpoint into a jeep by three Costa Ricans, who cried, "We caught you, we've caught the informers." They were driven four hours until they reached what David recognized as one of the *contra* camps located near Hull's ranch house. By assaulting

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS

William A. Reuben, in his 1983 booklet, identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. That flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

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one of the guards, the two managed to escape. When Carlos reached San José, he called us. Tony found him, near tears from exhaustion and fright, and got him an out-of-town hiding place. Several days later Carlos insisted on returning to his house.

During the next few days, Carlos received anonymous telephone calls warning him not to talk to anyone. Known *contras* and Cubans cruised past his house, according to government security guards who had been stationed outside at our request. Then, one night, five shots rang out. Several days later, ARDE officials, who knew David because he had once fought with their group, said that they had learned that he had been murdered, and that the *contras* were after Carlos. Costa Rican officials told us the same thing.

Shortly thereafter, Major Barrantes suddenly left for the United States. His startled superiors later learned that the U.S. Embassy had issued a special invitation for him to attend a course at Fort Benning, Georgia. One of his superiors said he has "no doubt" that Barrantes was lured out of Costa Rica to cripple the government's investigation of the terrorist unit. Although we were able to confirm that Barrantes is at Fort Benning, we were unable to reach him for comment.

We made arrangements for Carlos and his family to leave Costa Rica for about a year, and on August 18 they boarded a plane for Western Europe. Several days later, the Costa Rican daily newspaper *La República* carried a distorted story that Rural Guard officials had obtained information from someone named Carlos that the La Penca bomber was a Libyan who fled to Managua after the incident. The paper implied that the bomber was working for Colonel Qaddafi and the Sandinistas.

How accurate is David's story? Does it solve the mystery of La Penca or deepen it? We have confirmed some portions of it; other sections are more difficult to verify. Some coincidences can be explained, others cannot. For example, we still don't know why David chose to confide in a stranger who happened to be the neighbor of one of our co-workers. Nor did Carlos and David ever discuss why David's companions left him in the Rendezvous Bar.

We can account for other strange assertions. It is difficult on the face of it to believe that a Libyan could pass for a Dane; and even harder to accept that a Libyan could convince the Swedish television reporter with whom he traveled for several weeks before the bombing that he was a Dane. But "Hansen" claimed that he had been raised in Latin America, which explained why he spoke Spanish but no Danish. He and Peter Torbiornsson, the Swedish journalist, conversed in English because Torbiornsson wanted his Bolivian assistant to learn the language. And Torbiornsson does not appear to have been particularly curious about his companion—not wondering, for instance, why Hansen's wallet was always stuffed with $100 U.S. bills although Torbiornsson said he claimed to be working for an obscure (in fact nonexistent) photographic agency; or, even more damning, why Hansen didn't know the most popular brands of Danish beer. Although Torbiornsson was a suspect in the bombing, David and our other sources denied that he was involved.

How could David, a relatively minor figure in the terrorist ring, know so many details of its operations? David said that his immediate supervisor was involved in the Pastora bombing and told him much about the operation.

Still, there are details we have not been able to verify. In many cases, David did not know names or positions—of a woman in the Nicaraguan Embassy, for example, who was supposed to be passing money to the *contras*, or of the Costa Rican security officials who were cooperating with the terrorist ring. And Nicaraguan officials have not been able to check out David's assertions about Galil's links with the relatives of President Ortega. Most important, we have not found independent confirmation of Galil's identity.

For all its ambiguities, however, David's tale strongly suggests that the C.I.A. is involved in dirty tricks in Central America which are designed to provoke U.S. intervention. If that is true, Costa Rica may become the Tonkin Gulf of America's next war. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Crossfire

MARK ZANGER

COMMON GROUND: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families. *By J. Anthony Lukas. Alfred A. Knopf. 659 pp. $19.95.*

Billy McGoff, Charlestown High School class of 1976, planned to top off his high-school career with a Bicentennial trip from Boston, Massachusetts, to Boston, England. Starting in Billy's sophomore year, he and his classmates washed cars to raise money for the trip. They sold "Charlestown Townies" sweatshirts. They sold Bunker Hill flags and American flags and red, white and blue candles to raise money for the trip. Then, in September 1975, as "forced busing" integrated the school, the trip to England was canceled.

"No reason was given, but Billy and his classmates assumed that busing had killed it," reports Anthony Lukas in *Common Ground*:

> Some said that the blacks couldn't go because they hadn't worked to pay their way; but if they *didn't* go, [Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur] Garrity would ban the trip as segregated. In fact, the decision had nothing to do with busing. The funds so painfully accumulated had simply disappeared—school officials discovered that the teacher responsible for holding the money had blown it all at the racetrack. . . . To protect the teacher's reputation, the incident was never publicized, and the class of '76 went on believing that busing had cost them the trip for which they had worked so hard.

A lot of things simply disappeared in Boston between 1968 and 1978, and a lot of reputations were protected, and black people usually got blamed. That, in a nutshell, is how we messed up school desegregation here in the Little Rock of the North.

Common Ground is a highly readable, vigorously reported book that cannot be reduced to a nutshell. If you have had problems identifying with either side in the Boston busing crisis, this book will surprise you with five or six sides and compel you to identify with them all. In chronicling the Irish-American blue-collar McGoffs, the black blue-collar Twymons and the WASP middle-class Divers, Lukas goes beyond the obvious divisions of Boston society to reveal deep internal divisions in each group, and indeed in every person.

Set beside the suffering and endurance of these three families are shorter but equally telling portraits of five Boston leaders: Boston School Committee chair Louise Day Hicks, Judge Garrity, the late Humberto Cardinal Madeiros, *Boston Globe* editor Tom Winship and Mayor Kevin White. The decisions and nondecisions of 1968-78 shattered the reputations of all five. But they rent the daily lives of the Twymons, McGoffs and Divers.

Lukas's reporting thus takes on the force of good historical fiction, with the added power that it is all true, that this is the psychohistory of Boston's real dance at the edge of actual race war. The great strength of the book is its use of multiple viewpoints, its ability to apply the methods of modern literature to our understanding of political events. The book has what Boston's leaders lacked: a sympathy for everyone affected. I know that liberal urban readers will be moved by the McGoffs' rebellion against dictatorial authority, and even by the Divers' eventual departure for the suburbs. I expect that conservatives will be responsive to the Twymons' struggle for the basics of American life.

Common Ground is intended as a book of narrative rather than analysis. It has good exposés, such as the description of how antibusing activists directed white students in their daily disruption of Charlestown High School. And it has stirring descriptions, like the chase in which Colin Diver captures a mugger as a result of his block-watch organizing. Or the frightening account of the street fighting in Dorchester on July 4, 1976, just as a national television audience was watching the Boston Pops celebrate the nation's Bicentennial with Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture." It contains extraordinary documents, like Daisy Voight's mad-aunty letter to Rachel Twymon's two wayward daughters:

> You all is out in the street chasing the Great American Dream—a big dick—just like I was, just like your mom was, just like most American women are. And there ain't no soothing big dick out there—it don't exist—the dick that can take away all the pain of being poor, black, ugly and a woman in this society.

Lukas also develops themes. Reviewers have noted the power of class in the book. We follow two economically strapped single-parent families, the Twymons and McGoffs, whose children are turning to crime. We also find a rich interplay of rebellion and loyalism everywhere we look. All three families debate their relationship to Boston's power elite, and all three discover mixed traditions in their histories. Lukas finds a Tory ancestor for Mayflower descendant Joan Diver, an old-sod informer in the McGoff woodpile and proto-Twymons who have been both antagonistic and sympathetic to whites. Moreover, quality and trash are at war in the parentage of Kevin White, while Louise Day Hicks and the late Cardinal, we learn, were similarly divided.

How people respond when they are cheated, how their families are strained and how they go on living and find new understanding are Lukas's themes. They are important and well served in *Common Ground*, and ought to win him his second Pulitzer Prize.

If Lukas's literary journalism has historic sweep and psychological nuance, it still wants interpretation to avoid two common misreadings. The first can be seen in the tendency of reviewers to summarize the Boston situation as a failure of mutual understanding. The book does help us understand opposing points of view, but in 1968 there could have been no such understanding. Diverse people seldom met; the city was segregated. That school desegregation did not provide a dialogue across race and class lines was not a problem of communications but a problem of politics. No leader, no official body, no movement and no court order pressed for such dialogue, although there were attempts to organize for peace without mutual understanding.

The other and opposite misreading entails the superstition that Boston had inevitably to be racist and violent. Lukas does such a good job describing the weight of historical forces that, absent further analysis, the Boston busing crisis may seem as predetermined as sal-

Mark Zanger is a Boston-based writer and editor.

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vation or damnation did to the Calvinist colonists.

Folks, I was a reporter here for eight of the ten years described, and I can tell you that real people with free will lived in Boston the whole time. The historical undertow was rough, but we sank or swam on our own. We were dumb; we were without leadership; we were hornswoggled by race and class and dogma. But we've been thinking about it ever since. Those of us who review *Common Ground* end up finding it incomplete. We use our review space to describe the lessons of Boston, in effect writing our own introductions to the book. Here's mine.

The Boston schools sold kids out long before desegregation. There's the story about a South Boston High kid in the late 1950s, a pretty good quarterback who got a look from Syracuse but was never offered the scholarship. He went to Providence College and became an all-American in basketball. At the awards dinner, he asked the Syracuse football coach what happened. "Your high school guidance counselor said you couldn't do the work at Syracuse," was the reply. The kid that counselor almost buried is now the Mayor of Boston, Raymond Flynn. But that's not the end of the story. The same guidance counselor kept right on screwing white working-class kids out of college. He was still there when desegregation brought black and Hispanic kids under his power.

It's hard to communicate the enormity and intricacy of demoralization in the Boston schools. Imagine going to a middle school where the toilets have no doors and no toilet paper. Imagine going to a fifth-grade class where you have substitute teachers for an entire year, which you then have to repeat. Imagine an elementary-school art teacher who hands out paper each day and says, "Draw something." In every class. For years. Imagine teaching in a high school that runs out of mimeograph paper for the rest of the year. In November.

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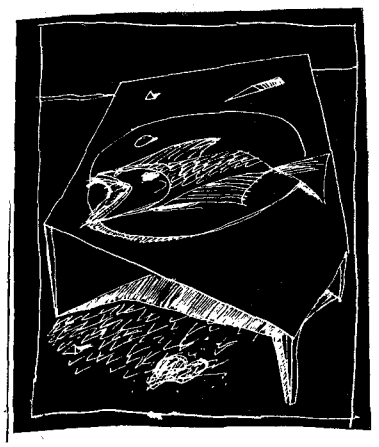

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regating the schools, it was not punished. No member was fined or jailed. Instead the committee was put in charge of correcting the situation. It resisted. So the court devised its own assignment plan. Who was left out of the decision making? Everyone with an interest in a workable solution: parents, students, teachers, community groups. It was an exclusive and top-down procedure which lasted for ten years. Those who would have intervened were repeatedly rebuffed by the court. The judge properly refused private meetings with various parties. Things kept disappearing, reputations were protected and elected officials blamed busing and, by implication, black people.

Financial cutbacks during those years made integration appear responsible for the physical deterioration of school buildings, the lack of supplies and the rise in class size.

The top-down assignment plans had one aim, numerically uniform racial integration. It is much easier to achieve numerical goals with fewer and larger school buildings; each school then draws from a larger area. (The ideal case is one giant school, with 57,000 students at the precise average racial composition of the system.) It is also cheaper to operate larger schools. Boston has fifty-five fewer schools than it did fourteen years ago. In an era when many things that work are small and locally controlled, Boston's schools are getting larger and more inaccessible to students, families and teachers. School Department bureaucracy was also centralized in response to the demands of the court plan, and it developed more layers of command as a result.

Top-down desegregation paralyzed its supporters and mobilized its opponents. This statement seems incredible. But the court ruled with the idea that mechanical integration would improve the status of black students. The School Committee, School Department and a vocal minority of white parents set about to prove the opposite. Those who hoped to make integration a part of general school reform were effectively silenced. You have to remember that Boston desegregation was carried out not long after the war in Vietnam, with some of the same spirit and by a few of the same people. The core theory was to integrate the bodies, and the hearts and minds would follow. That most opponents of the war also favored desegregation only added to the confusion.

The antibusing movement grasped the Vietnam analogy from the first, and easily took up the civil disobedience tactics of the civil rights and antiwar movements. They especially enjoyed taunting liberal priests, feminists and Kennedys with the charge of hypocrisy. How could radiclibs condemn the antibusers for saying no to "illegitimate authority," for, so to speak, burning their educational draft cards?

Liberals and radicals black and white were initially paralyzed by the implementation of reform from above. Faced with overtly racist resistance to the plan, they could not bring themselves to debate it in public. It was difficult to raise the banner of participatory democracy, or pedagogical reform, or transitional bilingual education, against the grand banner of civil rights held aloft by those who opposed busing.

Although this is the first major book to criticize Mayor White's role in desegregation, even Lukas understates the extent of White's involvement with the antibusing movement after his narrow re-election in 1975. Not only did the greater part of the antibusing leadership have family members on the city payroll but many active racists were working as in-school aides and bus monitors, in the School Department Information Center (assigned to rumor control) and eventually in the School Department Safety and Security department. While a few antibusers used these positions responsibly, most employed them as listening posts and organizing opportunities for disrupting the schools. Thus Federal desegregation aid went to fund and empower the segregationists.

City Hall liberals attempted to "minimize the impact of desegregation" or "make it work," to recall two phrases of the time. But they were constrained by the requirement that they support the Mayor, who wanted both local antibusing support and peace at any price to advance his national ambitions. Since White's antibusing supporters were using school violence in their resistance, aides like Deputy Mayor and former C.I.A. official Robert Kiley, who were genuinely committed to peaceful desegregation, had an impossible burden. Kiley and Robert diGrazia, the man he had brought in as Police Commissioner, attempted to secure peace, to make progress and to polish the Mayor's image all at once. Their struggle and failure is central to understanding the politics of

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Boston's crisis, and a profile of Kiley is perhaps Lukas's most significant omission.

The City Hall liberals took the position that "extremists on both sides" were responsible for racial violence. The white extremists were easy to find. They were elected officials and local activists in ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) who opposed desegregation, spread rumors, coordinated demonstrations that turned into riots and were in walkie-talkie contact with the armed patrols of the South Boston Marshals.

But who were the black extremists fomenting racial violence? DiGrazia was once pressed on the question and supplied the names of two black politicians who didn't cooperate with mayoral publicity stunts and one black tenant activist from the Mission Hill housing project. Her extremism consisted of pressing the case of a black child killed in a defective elevator. There had been a nonviolent sit-in at City Hall over this case. A mayoral aide then sat on a promised report of the incident for more than a year, excusing himself by suggesting that reminding blacks of the case might foment violence. By suppressing the story, however, the city government destroyed its credibility in that housing project.

The elevator death ignited no riots and played only a tiny role in the city's folklore. But the debate between full disclosure and keeping the peace was, and is, an important one. That it is ultimately a debate about whether to mobilize the citizenry does not make it easier to resolve. In Boston's racial crisis, the typical decision was to keep the peace, and even so there was a lot of fighting. No one can say there wouldn't have been more fighting if City Hall and the media had played things straight, and no one can deny that there were many opportunities for honest leadership.

Lukas raises some of these issues in his portrait of editor Tom Winship. *The Boston Globe* took up the burden, and the approach, of the City Hall liberals. For the effort it won a Pulitzer Prize in 1975. The paper covered up the extent of racial violence during the initial months of desegregation, vacillated wildly in its news decisions thereafter, privately intervened with the judge, concealed its role and in the end "retreated to a mechanical even-handedness, keeping a running count of column inches devoted to 'pro-black' and 'pro-white' stories, trying to keep them approximately equal."

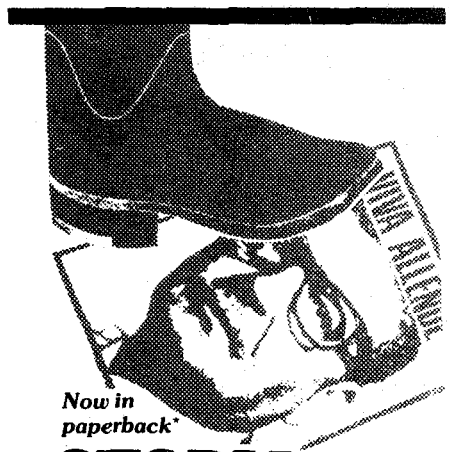
Joe Klein said at the time, "*The Globe* getting the Pulitzer Prize is like Nixon getting the prize for Watergate; their relationship to the story was the same." In retrospect, one must say that the temptation for *The Globe* to move from objectivity to propaganda was strong—the habit of quoting leaders abhors a vacuum. The vacuum, however, was only gauged at *The Globe*. The pump was in City Hall.

The City Hall liberals quietly sponsored a parent group to help make the law work and to oppose the extremists on both sides, whom they accused of "using" the children. This position alienated blacks, who knew there were no black extremists. In fact, there was very little dialogue about the busing plans in the black community until the 1980s, when an open enrollment faction surfaced briefly.

At the same time the City Hall line had little to offer middle-class whites, who had been pursuing a variety of pedagogical reforms. Experiments in school reform were allowed to wither as staff and students were reassigned yearly to meet the exigencies of mathematical desegregation. The watershed years were 1981 and 1982, when over 1,200 tenured teachers were laid off. The majority of the layoffs were younger white teachers, some vital in the experimental programs. In recent years, there has been a modest revival of educational innovation as the court has receded from the case.

The City Hall line was actively frustrating to working-class whites, whose school system was getting worse each year. This could be measured in basic skills. Throughout the early desegregation period, reading scores declined, and busing was blamed. Each new superintendent has bet a six-figure consultant's contract on a different reading or testing program. The last fellow, Robert Spillane, noticed that Boston had no central curriculum, and had one written. Even so, he prudently arranged to have the 1985 reading tests handed to teachers several weeks early, so that students could be prepared to take them. Sure enough, most scores went up, as they seem to do in every superintendent's final year. This was the system white working-class parents were asked to defend against extremists.

A major obstacle to dialogue was the semantic confusion between balance



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and fairness that seemed to ooze out of the court decision. It was "only fair" that antibusers get their quota of the desegregation jobs, yet the antibusing movement hardly played fair when thwarted. There was "balanced news coverage" regardless of truth, equal numbers of white and black kids punished in a fracas regardless of who was at fault and endless whining about what was fair while all sides were being cheated.

There is one last element of the Boston crisis that Lukas does not treat. Boston is not only the best-known school desegregation case in the North; it also appears to mark the final achievement of the legal movement for black equality, the civil rights movement. Black politics continues, but the law and the courts are no longer the main avenue of progress. Is this because Boston revealed the weaknesses of a top-down strategy? Or has the Federal government turned away from racial progress, as it did in 1877, using the peculiar Boston crisis as an excuse in the way that the excesses of Reconstruction were used a hundred years ago? □

Poetic Relations

CHARLES MOLESWORTH

THE ROUNDHOUSE VOICES: Selected and New Poems. *By Dave Smith. Harper & Row. 182 pp. $16.95. Paper $9.95.*

Dave Smith's poems have been praised for their fidelity to locale, specifically the area around the Chesapeake Bay, with its distinctive though economically embattled culture, and for their emotional directness. Critics have remarked on Smith's development during a career in which he has published a half-dozen books, and have commented on the inventiveness and precision of his language. Now that Smith has selected poems from throughout his career, arranged them more or less chronologically and added recent work as well, we have a substantial volume and an occasion to see if the poet has indeed begun to achieve major status.

Looked at individually, Smith's poems are indeed accomplished. He has a distinctive style, a subject matter and a gravity of language and sensibility that is worth our attention. In his best poems, such as "Elegy in an Abandoned Boatyard," "The Pornography Box" and "Tide Pools," Smith demonstrates an undeniable honesty and is willing both to display his experience and his values and to test them against the frames of memory and introspection. He is infatuated with narrative and enjoys pointillist description touched here and there with figurative language until it generates a highly expressive atmosphere.

But if we take the volume of selected poems as an invitation to read Smith in a larger context, that is, alongside the other poets of his generation, we may see his work differently. Furthermore, if we look hard at what happens to the speaker in each poem—how he reveals and shapes his psyche through the poem, and how he chooses his words—we will also find some cause for dissent from the critical consensus. First, the generational context. Smith's work is related to that of William Matthews, Norman Dubie, Stanley Plumly, among others. The main affinities are a persistent return to the theme of loss, the use of family relations (especially of fathers and sons) as the framework for all emotional value, and the employment of a dramatized scene as the chief lyric structure. There are other less obvious but significant devices and concerns that these poets have in common, such as the use of photographs as the occasion and subject for poems, and the typically qualified transcendence of the poem's closing gesture.

Of course, some of Smith's concern with loss, family and the dramatized scene comes from his indebtedness to such poets as Richard Hugo, James Wright, Gerald Stern and Robert Penn Warren. Indebtedness is part of every poet's work, and Smith's work is indeed enriched by his models. But each of these older poets is known more for his sensibility than for any innovations in form, scale or technique. Smith's art also avoids experimentalism, and it seldom puts any pressure on the received lyric structure. While not in itself a sign of weakness, this disinclination to

Charles Molesworth is the author of Gary Snyder's Vision: Poetry and the Real Work *(University of Missouri Press).*

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test new or widely ranging lyric formats eventually betrays Smith's sentimentality and the vague basis of his emotional claims. (This collection contains no poetic sequence, for example; it offers little variety of diction and the stanzaic forms are often arbitrary and loosely executed.)

In many of Smith's poems the dramatized scene is recalled, heightened, colored by the poet's sense of frailty (the frailties of love and memory) and then resolved by a sort of wistful longing that things might be otherwise. Often this wistful longing centers on the realization of language's insufficiency: "Words stopped," "culled/by codes we never know," "It was too odd to explain, and wrong," "a naked silence,/ its language wild and shocked." These and other such phrases indicate the emotional aphasia that keeps the poems from enacting any transformation or transcendence. Almost inevitably this limits each poem to the emotional trauma that the poet began with, and thus there is seldom any sense of liberation or expansion in consciousness.

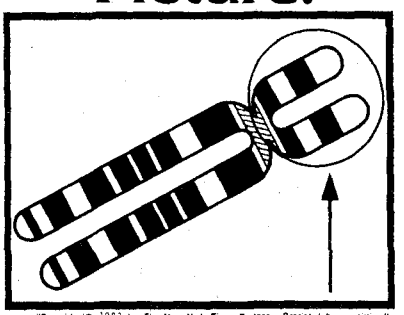
We might see the prototype of Smith's scenic lyrics about loss in a poem such as Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village," or in Coleridge's "Frost at Midnight," where the poet speaks for all of us in dramatizing his own struggle against frailty. But Smith has neither the Enlightenment's sense of rationality nor Romanticism's furious ego-strength against which to pit his sense of loss. As a consequence the poems must rely on a plangent language (in effect, on a highly poeticized vocabulary) in order to develop their emotional authority. In turn, this leads Smith into awkward figures of speech which have neither precision nor plain force. We move, then, from the abstraction of a phrase like "blind miles of light" to the wooliness of a "knife . . . brilliant as moon-claw" to the baroque tangle of "blood-button nipples sudden/as rain in the goblet of wine/we forgot."

But it isn't just that Smith reaches for an emotional intensity that his language can't quite contain. Often his thinking is convoluted:

> Isn't love something that breaks,
> drooling and dangling inside
> like a car's hot-water hose
> that leaves you helpless and god-forsaken?
>
> ("Wedding Song")

Not only are the two adjectives in the last line redundant but the "homey"

The Prettiest Picture.



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simile undercuts the assumed agreement that the rhetorical question relies on: are we to be stunned by the figure or applaud its "rightness"? True, the speaker of this poem flirts with absurdity, but his persona is ultimately serious, even sentimental. (The poem ends by invoking voices arising from some "black ancient floor" and says, "I hear them still.") The tone of Smith's figures of speech is often at odds with the central experience of his poems.

Another consequence of Smith's reluctance to question models or test new structures is that he blends the prosaic and the mystical in ways that do justice to neither (something that was especially noticeable in the late work of James Wright). The poems proceed as if the poet has every right to claim a special status for his vision without justifying it with some exemplary transformation, some creditable emotional enlargement or even some enchantment through urgent music. Here is a passage from "Dream Flight":

> Newspapers say the Salt Lake is
> rising, the airport will go first, flood-
> crest only one, maybe
> two thousand years off. Our
> houses will become the spewn grey
> mist. I feel in my body
>
> bodiless ancestors claw to a rock
> under star-spillage. I see
> one who is speechless, a woman,
> has just buried her children asleep
> in a mound of wool. . . .
> She squints into the heart-
> quaking
>
> ripple of wind. It makes her eyes
> water for a man absent,
> loved.

The poet needs to justify the bodily feeling he effortlessly invokes, in part by reaching for the poetic diction of "star-spillage" and the drama of clawing to a rock; the prehistoric vision then becomes sentimentalized as the themes of loss and aphasia reassert themselves. And phrases such as "star-spillage," "spewn grey mist" and "heartquaking" make the echoes of Robert Penn Warren distractingly persistent.

The volume of selected poems also reveals the fact that Smith's work is dominated less by poems of locale than it is by those about domestic anxiety or the traumas of his childhood and adolescence. Smith's work is not unlike that of many of our poets under fifty who have been much praised. Emotional honesty, an interest in domestic subject matter, a trust in the power of the poet's ego to appropriate all areas of personal experience and render them authoritative, and a penchant for the short, straightforward, free-verse lyric are the features singled out for praise. In many senses, such poets form the mainstream of contemporary poetry even though their poems are often derivative and strained. The dominant note of humble irony that frequently characterizes them just as frequently conceals a sort of emotional colonization, a sense that all experience and all language, even if it is marked by loss and failure, is finally in the service of proving how sensitive the poet is. When poetry largely abandons its claim to an alternative or transformed or objective world (or sense of the world) and settles for the thoroughly subjectivized drama of the sensitive individual, it narrows its claims on our attention. Despite his skill, such narrowness threatens Dave Smith's poetry. □

What's Going On

GEORGE DE STEFANO

DIVIDED SOUL: The Life of Marvin Gaye. *By David Ritz. McGraw-Hill. 367 pp. $16.95.*

The "sexual healing" that soul singer Marvin Gaye celebrated in his final hit record eluded him all his life, as did any emotional peace. The grainy, pleading voice that thrilled an international following for twenty years belonged to a man wracked by psychosexual conflicts rooted in his tortured, violent childhood. In David Ritz's aptly titled, deeply disturbing biography, Gaye emerges as a tragic figure whose destiny was prefigured in the traumas of his earliest years.

Gaye's story is *Oedipus* in reverse: last year, at the age of 44, he was shot dead by his father, with whom he had been a lifelong competitor for his mother's love. In Ritz's telling, Gaye's violent death was the inevitable outcome of the primal antagonism that haunted the singer's life like a recurring illness, poisoning his relationships and souring his professional triumphs.

David Ritz, co-author of *Brother Ray*, the revealing autobiography of Ray Charles, tells Marvin Gaye's sorrowful story with remarkable insight and sensitivity. *Divided Soul* started out in 1979 as a collaboration between Gaye and his longtime admirer. Ritz is sympathetic and loving toward the man whose friend and confidant he was for several years, but he doesn't hide Gaye's dark side, his self-absorption, his cruelties and violence. *Divided Soul* is often startlingly candid, but it manages to avoid lurid sensationalism, no mean feat given the particulars of the story: sex, drugs, child abuse, show-business scandal.

Born and raised in Washington, D.C., Marvin Gaye grew up in a home suffused with religious zealotry, violence and sexual confusion. His parents, Marvin and Alberta Gay, belonged to the House of God, a sect that combined Pentecostalism and Orthodox Judaism. Its dogma was strict and demanding, heavy on self-sacrifice and sexual repression. Gay Sr., a minister in the church, demanded total compliance with its fierce tenets from his family.

The peculiarities of their religious observance alienated the Gays from other Washington blacks, but more disturbing to young Marvin was the turmoil at home. Close to his mother, who provided him with unstinting love and approval, he found himself at odds with his father from the day he was born. According to Alberta Gay, "My husband never wanted Marvin . . . he didn't love Marvin, and what's worse, he didn't want *me* to love Marvin either."

A charismatic preacher, the elder Gay was also a sadist who regularly beat his children. He seemed to reserve a special, gleeful ferocity for Marvin. "By the time I was twelve," the singer recalls, "there wasn't an inch of my body that hadn't been bruised and beaten by him." Aware that he was unloved, and conscious of the pleasure his father took in beating him, Marvin began to deliberately provoke the violence. If he couldn't win his father's approval, at least there was a way to get his attention. Seeking out pain—whether by sabotaging his relationships or his career—would become the leitmotif of Marvin Gaye's life.

Marvin Sr.'s sexual ambiguity seems to have distressed his son even more

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than his cruelty. An effeminate man, he liked to dress up in women's clothes. Alberta Gay says that her husband "liked to wear my panties, my shoes, my gowns, even my nylon hose. Marvin would see him like that sometimes." The singer maintains that his father was entirely heterosexual, but Alberta isn't so sure. She says that five of her husband's siblings were homosexual. Ghetto youths taunted Marvin for being the son of a "sissy." Early in his career he appended the "e" to his patronymic because "all someone has to do with my name is put an 'is' in front of it. . . . Man, I can't tell you how many guys have asked me that."

In his interviews with Ritz, Gaye insisted on his unconditional heterosexuality, and the author takes him at his word. Ritz is unwilling to consider seriously the possibility that his friend and idol had a fairly strong homosexual component to his personality, but the clues are there. Gaye's persistent, powerful fantasy of watching other men make love to his first wife is interpreted by Ritz as masochistic, but there is another way to read it. Gaye was obsessed with proving his masculinity, and to fail at any of his chosen pursuits was to be "a faggot." He felt threatened by the gay liberation movement, for which he had "absolutely no sympathy," according to Ritz. His panic about homosexuality could reach comic extremes. He decided not to make an album with Johnny Mathis, a singer he admired, because he feared that his fans might think the two were lovers.

Gaye disliked being the son of a sexually ambiguous man, but he did own up to sharing some of his father's tastes: "I have the same fascination with women's clothes . . . I indulge myself at only the most discreet and intimate moments. Afterward, I must bear the guilt and shame for weeks. After all, indulgence of the flesh is wicked, no matter what your kick. The hot stuff is lethal. I've never been able to stay away from the hot stuff."

Sex preoccupied Gaye, but so did the fervid spirituality he had absorbed in his father's church. He tried to reconcile the warring sides of his personality by sanctifying sex. He sought in his life, and tried to express in music, an eroticism so enrapturing that it transcended lust and approached godliness. (Prince, in his obsession with salvation through sexuality, is very much Gaye's heir.) Gaye's divided soul could not, however, abandon the belief that "indulgence of the flesh is wicked." "Part of Marvin was too sophisticated to subscribe to the tenets of his father's Pentecostal church," observes Ritz, "but another part—a more powerful part—was never able to shake off those notions."

The war within was carried into Gaye's relationships with women. Although he cultivated his image as a lover, he often resented, even hated women, whether they were his wives and numerous lovers or the fans who clamored for the sweat-soaked handkerchiefs he flung from concert stages. "Pleasing women was a chore he approached with suppressed anger," says Ritz. The only ones who didn't threaten him—because they made no demands—were prostitutes and his ever-loving, indulgent mother.

Gaye's two marriages were disasters. The first, to Anna Gordy, sister of Berry Gordy, founder of the Motown musical empire, ended in a spectacular, much publicized divorce. (Gaye chronicled the tempestuous relationship on his 1978 album, *Here, My Dear*.) He married Janis Hunter because she seemed to embody his fantasy image of woman as irresistible temptress and implacable foe. He opposed her ambition for a singing career, insisting that she be a housewife and mother. But he encouraged her to have affairs with other men. He would then wallow in the pain of betrayal while also abusing her, sometimes violently, for acting on his suggestions. Gaye wished for a tranquil domestic life with Janis and their children, but with staggering perversity he did everything he could to destroy their happiness.

How did a man with such crippling neuroses manage to create such an impressive, enduring body of work? Gaye made his first recordings in the late 1950s for Chess and Okeh, rhythm and blues labels owned by whites. The hits didn't come until the early 1960s when he signed with Motown, that marvel of black capitalism. Gaye's career spanned three decades of black music, encompassing every major stylistic development: doo-wop harmonizing, soul, disco and funk. He was a superb vocalist with a three-octave range, and a gifted songwriter, arranger and multi-instrumentalist.

Gaye stamped his intense personality on the material written for him by the house songwriters at Motown. When he became an *auteur* in the 1970s, he specialized in transforming his personal crises and obsessions into pop music of uncommon emotional depth. But self-scrutiny could result in self-indulgence. The enthusiasm of Ritz the fan blinds Ritz the author to this shortcoming, leading him to overrate Gaye's uneven late 1970s work. Gaye's least solipsistic and best record was 1971's *What's Going On*. Innovative in theme and form, the nine-song soul suite presented his pained, angry reactions to Vietnam, ecological disaster and the plight of blacks in America's ghettos.

Having been emotionally and physically battered as a child, Gaye never developed a secure sense of self, despite his success. He alternated between grandiose egotism and punishing self-doubt and despair. During the last five years of his life, his problems overwhelmed him. By 1980 he had two failed marriages behind him, his career and finances were a shambles and he was addicted to cocaine. Gaye made two hit

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records in 1982—"Sexual Healing" and the disappointing album *Midnight Love*—but his late successes paled next to those of the ascendant Michael Jackson, an upstart Gaye admired and resented.

Gaye's last concert tour was a fiasco. To half-filled houses he performed a self-parodistic superstud routine which ended with him dropping his pants. He retired to the Los Angeles home he had purchased for his parents, and there his drug addiction and mental deterioration worsened. There were suicide attempts and conflicts with his father. A minor dispute between Marvin Sr. and Alberta erupted into the fatal confrontation between father and son. Coming to his mother's defense, Gaye beat the elder man, who then got the gun his son had bought, returned to Marvin's bedroom and calmly shot him, in the presence of Alberta.

Ritz reconstructs Gaye's personal tragedy without losing sight of its larger context. Racism, the exploitation of black artists (white domination of show business comes under Ritz's fire, but he doesn't let Motown off the hook), the central role of the church in black culture, the politics of sex—all are deftly woven into the soulful threnody of Marvin Gaye's life. *Divided Soul* may remind some readers of *Just Above My Head*, James Baldwin's epic novel portraying thirty years of black life in America through the sorrows and triumphs of a soul singer who, like Gaye, began his career in the church, suffered sexual conflicts and died too young. Ritz's book can't approach the poetic genius of Baldwin's, but it has much the same emotional and truth-telling power. □

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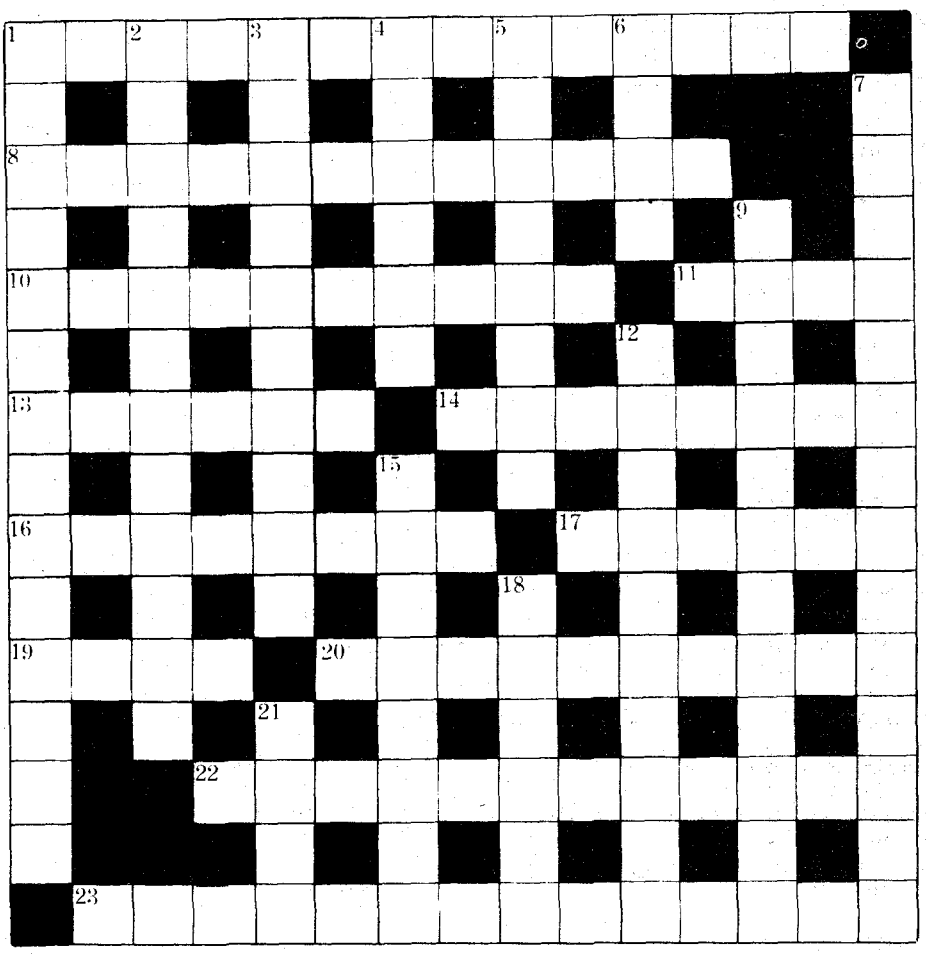

ACROSS

1 Using poor logic, this paint might describe a swell checker! (14)
8 One certainly can't say such a thing isn't done! (4,8)
10 One millimeter in ten (sort of) only not on that which is about to occur. (10)
11 Unable to get a slant on pious language? (4)
13 Ghost seen if the trip is bad? (6)
14 Might be used in war, or can end in confusion. (8)
16 22 might cause it, being a common name for copper. (4-4)
17 Possibly controversial organization the U.S. once organized. (6)
19 A series of rows made by one that might make many knots. (4)
20 Apt assignment for a prospective army officer. (2,3,5)
22 Physical disability perhaps associated with the ruins of Rome. (6,6)
23 Letters of agreement? (14)

DOWN

1 Fair feast, as oft prepared by some for which the governor is responsible. (7,2,5)
2 Those who handled 1 down for Rome might arrive, it seems, out of sorts. (12)
3 Certainly not fancy arguments which might appear in courts. (10)
4 Giving off light might suit uncle to a T. (6)
5 Alias Mrs. Gable, perhaps found at table. (8)
6 Are oils refined in such a storage place? (4)
7 Toast after meat might be, whether you like it or not. (1,6,2,5)
9 Improperly divided it might be what some expect in Heaven. (He had his day, which old folk said started a spell of weather.) (5,7)
12 Coming from the inn, rides up without much 13, evidently. (10)
15 One glass is enough for each of them! (8)
18 You might find this on turning to religion. (6)
21 Something fishy found by one of Henry's wives? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2071

■	A	U	T	O	B	I	O	G	R	A	P	H	Y	■
S	■	N	■	P	■	N	■	R	■	H	■	A	■	A
P	A	S	T	E	■	D	I	A	L	E	C	T	I	C
O	■	A	■	N	■	O	■	P	■	A	■	R	■	R
R	A	I	L	F	E	N	C	E	■	D	R	A	C	O
T	■	D	■	O	■	E	■	■	■	■	■	C	■	N
■	■	■	I	R	I	S	H	W	H	I	S	K	E	Y
B	■	A	■	U	■	I	■	H	■	N	■	S	■	M
A	C	C	O	M	P	A	N	I	S	T	S	■	■	■
G	■	C	■	■	■	■	■	T	■	E	■	R	■	U
H	O	U	N	D	■	C	H	E	E	R	L	E	S	S
D	■	R	■	U	■	O	■	W	■	V	■	E	■	E
A	C	A	P	P	E	L	L	A	■	I	N	C	U	R
D	■	C	■	E	■	I	■	S	■	E	■	H	■	S
■	D	Y	E	D	I	N	T	H	E	W	O	O	L	■

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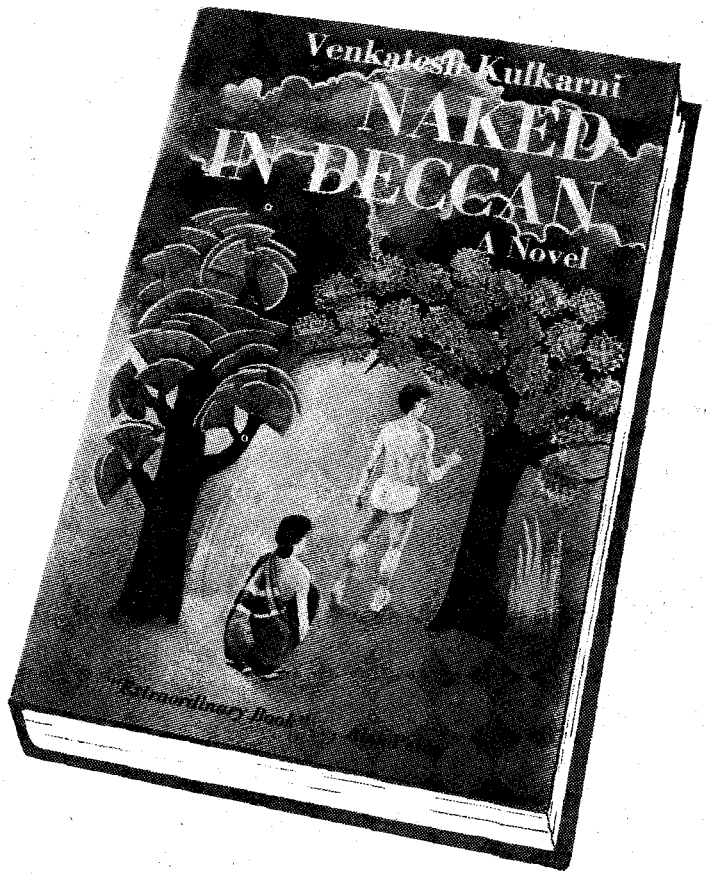

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